

THE HUMAN BODY IN EARLY IRON AGE CENTRAL EUROPE

BURIAL PRACTICES AND IMAGES OF THE HALLSTATT WORLD



KATHARINA REBAY-SALISBURY

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The Human Body in Early Iron Age Central Europe

Identities and social relations are fundamental elements of societies. To approach these topics from a new and different angle, this study takes the human body as the focal point of investigation. It tracks changing identities of early Iron Age people in central Europe through body-related practices: the treatment of the body after death and human representations in art.

The human remains themselves provide information on biological parameters of life, such as sex, biological age, and health status. Objects associated with the body in the grave and funerary practices give further insights on how people of the early Iron Age understood life and death, themselves, and their place in the world.

Representations of the human body appear in a variety of different materials, forms, and contexts, ranging from ceramic figurines to images on bronze buckets. Rather than focussing on their narrative content, human images are here interpreted as visualising and mediating identity. The analysis of how image elements were connected reveals networks of social relations that connect central Europe to the Mediterranean.

Body ideals, nudity, sex and gender, aging, and many other aspects of women's and men's lives feature in this book. Archaeological evidence for marriage and motherhood, war, and everyday life is brought together to paint a vivid picture of the past.

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury received her PhD in prehistoric archaeology from the University of Vienna (Austria) in 2005 and subsequently worked as a researcher at the Universities of Cambridge and Leicester (both UK). Her research within the Leverhulme Trust funded project 'Tracing Networks' centred on studying human representations, identities, and social relations in the late Bronze and Iron Age of central Europe. She currently investigates motherhood in prehistoric Europe at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (Austria).



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Burial Practices and Images
of the Hallstatt World

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

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Preface

'The human body is the best work of art.'

Jess C. Scott

Many threads of my research come together in this book. My interest in human representations of the early Iron Age was sparked by the assignment of an undergraduate thesis in 1997, for which I published a few cremation graves from Donnerskirchen, Austria. They included a vessel with stylised human images. They looked so familiar, and yet so strange. Who were these people, and why were they sketched into the pottery? The topic has never ceased to fascinate me since.

I was lucky to have been able to explore early Iron Age cemeteries in detail for my MA and PhD theses at the University of Vienna, with a particular focus on gender relations in the past, and to continue my research on burial practices at the University of Cambridge. As a post-doc within the research programme 'Changing Beliefs of the Human Body', funded by the Leverhulme Trust and co-ordinated by John Robb, I was first initiated into the wondrous world of body studies and theories, as Marie Louise Stig Sørensen and I worked together at understanding the spread of cremation throughout middle to late Bronze Age Europe.

As research associate and project manager of 'Tracing Networks', funded by the Leverhulme Trust and led by Lin Foxhall, I was able to conduct my project 'Translating art and craft: Human representations, identities and social relations in the late Bronze and Iron Age of Central Europe'. This book is the outcome of this investigation. I am very grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for supporting both projects I had the pleasure to be part of and which funded my research. John Robb, Marie Louise Sørensen and Lin Foxhall were excellent mentors, and I owe much to their guidance.

In the course of research for this book, I had to make a lot of tough choices about which material to include and what to ignore. Sources on the treatment of the human body in death are plentiful in early Iron Age Europe, and even human representations come in much greater numbers than I envisioned at the beginning of the project. Serendipity was on my side, too, as several very interesting and important pieces of art have recently been discovered and could be integrated during the course of this study. I aimed at a complete coverage of all known human

representations to date, but both the chronological and geographical selection for this book is, of course, open to critique. I am very aware that the data I used in no way represent all images in use during the early Iron Age. After all, only a fraction has been preserved in archaeological contexts. Nevertheless, I found a somewhat numerical approach, in addition to a qualitative data analysis, helpful for a full appreciation of the material and to get a sense of the scale of human representations as a phenomenon. I hope I will be forgiven for the numerous omissions I have undoubtedly made. In addition, classifications were not always straightforward, as images remain ambiguous and open to multiple interpretations. My initial plan to compile an open image database came to a shrieking halt once I became aware of copyright legislations and restrictions. I was not able to include illustrations of all images discussed in this book, but many are available by searching the internet.

I am happy to be able to say that this book is not only an ending, but also the beginning of a new research endeavour. By taking the human body as the focal point, I noticed that sexuality, maternity, paternity and genealogy were of key concern in the early Iron Age. In parallel to my own transition to motherhood, the lack of research into how prehistoric societies responded to the transition to motherhood became more and more apparent. In my current research project, I am investigating if and how women's social status changed when they became mothers and how motherhood, as a component of identity, was conceptualised in the past.

Many colleagues from the Universities of Cambridge and Leicester, the Austrian Academy of Sciences and many other institutions have contributed to this book by intellectual exchange and critical discussions. In particular, I would like to thank Jo Appleby, Edeltraud Aspöck, Laura Bocchi, Dušan Borić, Ann Brysbaert, Peter van Dommelen, Alexandrine Eibner, Martin Fera, José Fiadeiro, Margarita Gleba, Monika Griebel, Karina Grömer, Susanne Hakenbeck, Anthony Harding, Oliver Harris, Susanna Harris, Colin Haselgrove, Kerstin Hofmann, Jessica Hughes, Erzsébet Jerem, Kerstin Kowarik, Sheila Kohring, Jutta Leskovar, Michaela Lochner, Marianne Mödler, Doris Pany-Kucera, Elisa Perego, Mark Pluciennik, Benedetta Prosdocimi, Alessandro Quercia, Peter Ramsel, Hans Reschreiter, Andrea Roppa, Roderick Salisbury, Robert Schumann, Jo Sofaer, Sara Strack, Timothy Taylor, Sarah Tarlow, Peter Trebsche, Emilio Tuosto, Marion Uckelmann, Otto Urban, Melissa Vetter, Leo Webley, Estella Weiss-Krejci, Ian Whitbread, and Karin Wiltchke-Schrotta.

I would like to highlight Robert Schumann's contribution of reading and critically commenting on a draft of the text and Martin Fera's help with geographic information system (GIS) mapping. In addition, I would like to thank my Facebook friends, a valuable resource for hunting literature and a great place to test unusual ideas. I would also like to acknowledge Michael Greenwood, commissioning editor for Routledge, who provided excellent support throughout the process of preparing the manuscript for the book, the anonymous reviewers for helpful corrections and suggestions and Mark Pluciennik for proofreading.

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I would like to dedicate this book to my husband Roderick and my children Daniel and Simon; my family, who came into life during the years of researching for and writing this book.

1 Introduction

Individual and social identities, as well as social relations, are fundamental elements of early Iron Age societies. This study investigates how prehistoric people constructed and negotiated personal identities in the setting of their societies and how societies constructed difference between themselves and others. To approach identity from a new and different angle, this study takes the human body as the focal point of investigation. The human body can be understood as a medium through which social relations, identities and status categories are negotiated, as they are not fixed and permanent, but malleable and in a constant state of alteration. Aspects of identity include, among others, the ways that gender relations were constituted, maintained and practiced; how age contributed to the way individuals were perceived; how wealth and status came to be significant personal characteristics; and how different variables of identity were interconnected.

Personal identities are composed of a mosaic of different elements, for which we find clues in the archaeological record. The two primary sources used for this study are burial data and human representations. The human body is most directly encountered in the grave, where the physical remains of a person were deposited. The human remains themselves provide information on biological parameters of life, such as sex, biological age and health status. Objects associated with the body give further clues as to what might have been important to the person and to the people burying their dead. Mortuary practices, the ways bodies were treated after death and equipped for the grave, can give us some further insights into how people of the early Iron Age understood life and death, themselves and their place in the world.

The second line of evidence for this study, human representations, directly addresses prehistoric ideas and ideals of identity. Humans and beings of human form are depicted on objects ranging from figurines to sketches on pottery and from *situlae* to rock art; some represent people, whilst others represent creatures and gods in human form as they featured in Iron Age mythology or ideology. Rather than focussing on the narrative content of these images and scenes, portraits of humans are here taken as visualizing and mediating identity. There is no way and no reason to distinguish the representations of actual human beings from those imagined to take the human form – both rely on the same frame of cultural reference. Depicting the different ways people are dressed (or not), the jewellery

2 Introduction

and objects they wore on the body, the actions they engage in or the material culture that is involved may not have been the primary concern of the artist, and yet they inform us about how identities are constructed through bodily practices.

The study is set in an area conventionally described as the ‘Hallstatt Culture’, spread over parts of Germany, France, Switzerland, Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia and northern Italy. In short, I refer to the study area as ‘central Europe’, a vague term in itself, as there are multiple and conflicting definitions of central Europe. The cultural identity of central Europe today is based on multi-ethnicity, and to a large part, on the heritage of the Habsburg Empire.

While study of prehistoric identity in these regions is traditionally a matter of interpreting clusters of similar material objects in terms of culture groups – which is still, more or less, a shortcut for ethnicity – other aspects of identity have only recently started to become addressed. Personal identity is about belonging to and identifying with groups: these might be gender groups, age groups, groups of people involved in the same occupations and, of course, groups of people living in the same area. Were personal identities constructed differently in different areas, and what impact did the making of personal identities have on the construction of group identities? Are what archaeologists recognise as ‘cultural groups’ the result of people living in different areas or living a different lifestyle (such as farming, mining or pastoralism) in different landscapes, or are other factors involved? How is difference between groups maintained and played out during the past?

Relationships beyond the Hallstatt culture area, in particular with Mediterranean societies, are a further theme in this study. Early Iron Age societies were integrated into a network of contacts across Europe and the Mediterranean, and these contacts took a variety of forms, including dependency relations between unequal partners. Archaeologically most visible are forms of economic exchange where ‘foreign’ goods can be identified – the famous ‘Mediterranean imports’ found on Hallstatt territory. These are, however, just the tip of the mass of knowledge exchange and transfer of ideas between the Mediterranean world and temperate Europe. Knowledge exchange contributed much to the change of societies at the transition from the late Bronze Age to the early Iron Age and, thereafter, via the integration and local adoption of Mediterranean ideas. These ideas can be traced by a network analysis, taking the structure and dynamics of networks into account. This is particularly important for the study of human images in the Hallstatt world, because many of them are not independent, indigenous creations, but owe aspects of their existence to Mediterranean templates. Many motifs are passed along in the Hallstatt world like Chinese whispers, changing small aspects as they travel over time and territory. Human images have been selected as an informative source about identity, but also as a relatively compact set of data, which can be analysed under a variety of aspects.

Details of the theoretical framework can be found in Chapter 2, which presents recent developments of ‘body theory’ and ‘network theory’, the two foundations of this book. The opportunity to explore these themes arose in the context of the research programme ‘Changing Beliefs of the Human Body: A Comparative

Social Perspective' at the University of Cambridge and the research programme 'Tracing Networks: Craft Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean and Beyond' at the University of Leicester, both funded by the Leverhulme Trust. Bringing 'the body' and 'networks' together enables us to see how the body is involved in long-term, cross-cultural communication.

Chapter 3 outlines the early Iron Age setting and describes how people conducted their lives and went about their everyday business. It addresses subsistence, diet and physical appearance. Changes in economy and settlement patterns are not the primary focus of this book, nor is it the increasing complexity of Iron Age societies, but these themes inevitably feed into the ways identities are constructed. As such, this chapter provides the necessary backdrop to understanding how burial practices unfolded and how human representations were introduced. The unity and diversity of the Hallstatt regions is the critical issue here, without going too deeply into the questions of which archaeologically established 'cultural groups' people belonged to or where their boundaries were. The central European Iron Age cannot be treated as a uniform block, as there are too many inter-regional differences, but neither should the differences be overstated and the survey become too fine-grained. A similar approach is taken to chronological comparisons. Chronology is crucial in order to understand how phenomena develop, but the development of phenomena might follow comparable trajectories without being, strictly speaking, contemporaneous. Adhering too strictly to chronological schemes, which in many cases are debatable, might therefore hinder more than help a useful analysis.

Comparing and contrasting aspects of identity on a chronological and spatial level can, of course, be done at many different levels of resolution. The survey of mortuary practices in Chapter 4 relies on well-documented and well-published case studies and regional overviews, which have been brought together by many scholars with different aims and which date to different decades of archaeological research. The survey of the treatment of the body after death and the change of burial practices from the late Bronze Age to the early Iron Age, as well as throughout the early Iron Age, therefore takes the form of an interpretative literature review. The aim is to understand changes in attitudes towards bodies as they unfold in the mortuary sphere. Most visibly, bodies become the focus of display in graves, regardless of whether there is a shift from cremation to inhumation or whether cremation remains the dominant rite. Differences in grave construction, furnishing and displayed wealth in the graves increase during the early Iron Age and have been taken as evidence for increasing social complexity. The expression of social status as part of negotiating identity in the mortuary arena does not necessarily imply a different social organisation, but may have something to do with shifting relationships between individuals and groups; social relations and far-reaching trade connections seem to contribute to social standing.

The artistic representation of the human body is the focus of the next chapters of this book. Only a few human images date to the late Bronze Age, but from the early Iron Age human images become increasingly common, and a number of interesting objects are available for study. The popularity of human images is another argument for an increased interest in identity expression in the early Iron

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Age. Human representations and narrative scenes help to understand how people saw themselves and their immediate social surroundings, and narrative scenes inform us about which actions and practices were important enough to be captured permanently. Interpreting image data is a difficult challenge for many reasons, and we can only ‘read’ their meaning to a certain extent, as we do not know the purpose of the images, nor the artists and audiences. Representational art as means of sign language and communication is discussed in Chapter 5, which looks into different ways of interpreting human images. It also aims to clarify which roles images play as messengers and if and how we can understand human representations in terms of agency.

The relationship between the image and object is the subject of Chapter 6. In order to study human representations from all angles, a large image database was compiled, comprising more than 3000 individual human images available for study. The images are found on a range of different objects, including statues, figurines, votive plaques, personal objects, vessels and even furniture and tools. They were therefore seen both during everyday activities and in ritual contexts, from far away and from close up. The different materials, their properties and affordances, as well as the technologies in which the images were made, play a part in how the human image appears. A section of this book is therefore dedicated to understanding the impact of the choice of materials and technologies on the outcome, that is, the human image. Considering concepts such as the *chaîne opératoire* and cross-craft interaction as helpful tools to understand the transmission of knowledge, this chapter also tackles how images were ‘translated’ across different materials and technologies, as well as over geographical space. A body might be reduced to a point and several strokes for the upper body and limbs and still be understood as a body. This translation into a ‘low resolution’ version of an image, for example, through changing from a sketch to punches on pottery, is particularly important, as it forces a focus on crucial elements of the motif, on elements that are important to understand the identities depicted.

Chapter 7, ‘The Hallstatt body in life and death’, brings together the two main lines of evidence, the burial and the representational data, and discusses themes that arise from the analysis. The way faces and bodies are composed of individual elements will be discussed, as well as body proportions and bodily ideals such as beauty. Understanding personhood in early Iron Age Europe, in other words, what it meant to be a person and to be categorised as a person, as well as identifying the forms of human selfhood and embodiment, will be explored through the themes of body parts and hybridity. Early Iron Age imagery includes local and foreign forms of hybrids and isolated body parts as a decoration of objects before they become a benchmark of Celtic Art in the La Tène period.

Amongst the building blocks of identity, sex and gender play a prominent role. All too quickly binary gender realities and ideals are assumed for the European Iron Age on the basis of the biological sex of individuals buried in graves, and yet many of our pictorial sources are more ambiguous. Both nude and clothed

bodies occur in the archaeological record; many persons are depicted naked and include a clear display of sexual parts; others are clothed and wear gendered dress and jewellery or engage in gender-specific practices. Whereas representations of people with both female and male sexual characteristics remain exceptions, the representation of sexless bodies is common during the Hallstatt period. This creates a group of people for which sexuality and reproduction were emphasised and another one for which it did not seem to play a role at all, at least in the representations.

Ageing and the stages of life are difficult to make out from human representations alone; it is here where we have to rely most heavily on burial data to understand how people's identities changed throughout the lifecycle. How femininity and masculinity were constructed in imagery is the focus of separate sections. Dress is perhaps the most immediate signifier of identity categories, whilst objects associated with the body, such as tools and weapons, point to activities and actions that were engaged in regularly and therefore become part of a person. Women's dress, veil, hairstyle and attributes will be discussed, as well as the importance of marriage and motherhood. For men's identities, both the civil and warrior identity, there is more evidence. Again, hairstyle, headgear and dress are discussed, as well as weaponry and men's best friends: the horses.

Further clues to identities can be found in people's postures and gestures, as they show us how people moved through the landscape and interacted with their immediate environment and each other. Actions, activities and practices people are engaged in are, of course, not a representative sample of everyday life, but frame important events. Women's occupations (for which we have much less evidence in the pictorial sources) are quite clearly set apart from men's pursuits; whereas textile work belongs to the female sphere, ploughing, herding, hunting and fishing, as well as participating in raids and conflict, are male domains. Both genders participate in feasts, which appear to be held for different occasions and involve drinking, making music, dancing and sports.

The more complex scenes with human images arise from high-status contexts and thus inform us about activities of the elite, who were well connected to contemporaneous societies across Europe. Chapter 8 returns to the question of relationships between the Hallstatt area and the Mediterranean and traces some of the networks apparent from specific motifs of human representations. It recaps how attitudes about the body, bodily ideas and ideals, as well as knowledge about practices involving the body, are transmitted and transformed across the European continent.

Chapter 9 concludes the study by reflecting on the nature of body worlds in early Iron Age central Europe. This book is the first to use a 'body perspective', the theoretical framework outlined in detail in the next chapter, and all available data on and around the material human body to investigate aspects of identity. It aims to treat burials and artistic representations of the human body as an integrated whole rather than as separate fields. Some aspects of Hallstatt body worlds are continuations of earlier prehistoric traditions, whereas others reflect contacts

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with and influences from the Classical worlds. Through a better understanding of identities in the central European early Iron Age, we can gain a deeper understanding of social relations and societies as a whole. This book is about how people understood themselves, others and their connections; this is what real lives were made of and what Iron Age life was about.

2 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework adopted for this book consists of two elements: the body, personhood and identity; and networks. Although at first sight they have little in common, identity in particular is a relational concept; it is not only about how people see themselves, but also how they are perceived by others. Network theory and insight into network dynamics elucidate how identity might be communicated and signalled from one person to another and with the help of material culture. This chapter aims to outline the theory implicit in this research and clarify terms and definitions used throughout the book.

2.1 Approaching the Iron Age body

2.1.1 *The body*

Inspired by social theorists (for example, Featherstone, Hepworth and Turner 1991, Shilling 1993, Turner 2008), an ‘archaeology of the body’ has emerged during the last two decades (for example, Borić and Robb 2008, Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005, Hamilakis, Pluciennik and Tarlow 2002a, Meskell and Joyce 2003, Rebay-Salisbury, Sørensen and Hughes 2010a, Robb and Harris 2013, Sofaer 2006a). A focus on the physical body as encountered archaeologically in the grave is, of course, not new; what is new and different is that the bio-anthropological information and archaeological data are brought together with new ways of thinking about how this body relates to the wider world and is understood within it. An archaeology of the body aims to analyse ‘the production and experience of lived bodies in the past through the juxtaposition of traces of body practices, idealised representations, and evidence of the effects of habitual gestures, postures, and consumption practices on the corporal body’ (Joyce 2005: 139).

The physiological basis of the person – encountered in archaeology as human remains – has traditionally been the subject of osteology, a branch of physical anthropology (for example, Cox and Mays 2000, White, Black and Folkens 2011). Inhumed or cremated skeletal remains, both articulated and fragmented, are an amazing source of information. Traditionally, anthropologists compile a report on each individual, which includes a record of how completely the skeleton is represented and the sex, age at death, body height, stature and pathologies reflected

in the bones; these latter may include health status, illnesses and traumas during life, as well as perimortal injuries, which may point to the cause of death. If multiple individuals are present, for instance in a cemetery, some palaeodemographic information may become available (for example, Acsádi and Nemeskéri 1970, Chamberlain 2006). This includes the sex ratio of a cemetery population, average age at death and life expectancy, as well as the probability of death for men and women at any given age. Data on the physical constitution and measurements of cranial features have led to ethnic interpretations of cemetery populations, but this branch of study has long since fallen out of favour. It is important to appreciate that demographics as apparent in cemetery populations do not necessarily reflect the living society, as some individuals may have been selected for burial, whereas others were classified as unfit for burial, treated differently, buried elsewhere away from the usual community burial ground or were not available to be buried; ‘missing children’, for instance, may indicate that children were not understood as persons in their own right, or ‘missing men’ might have gone to a battle never to return.

In recent years, the study of isotopes in human teeth and bones has advanced dramatically and gives new insights into a person’s diet throughout their lifespan, as well as their personal mobility (Knipper 2004, Oelze et al. 2012). Strontium, oxygen, sulphur, carbon and nitrogen isotopes continue to be built into the bone during a person’s lifespan. Differences between isotope signals from tooth enamel, which reflect conditions during early life, and from bone collagen, which reflects the last 10 to 20 years of life, may give us valuable insights into changes in living conditions. Isotopes reveal if the primary diet of a person was meat, fish or plant based, which could lead to conclusions on a person’s status, if access to food was an issue of class. Furthermore, the age and process of weaning, which was an important break in an infant’s life, as well as a potential health hazard (Herring, Saunders and Katzenberg 1998), can be investigated. The selection, preparation and communal consumption of food may also be activities that generate identity. Specific foodstuffs are often connected to regional identities, and feasting is a good opportunity for enhancing group cohesion and political activities (Dietler 2006). Individual mobility can be assessed by comparing the isotope signals within a population to the local geological background; although ‘foreigners’ can be identified, their exact place of origin is more difficult to determine.

The study of ancient DNA, although costly, prone to contamination and dependent on collagen preservation, promises further interesting scientific insights (for example, Hofreiter et al. 2001, Hummel, Schmidt and Hermann 2005, Kiesslich et al. 2005). The primary applications are the reliable sexing of an individual based on his or her genotype, in particular when results of traditional osteological methods are ambiguous, and the reconstruction of kinship relations. Tracing the male lineage through Y-chromosome DNA analysis and the female lineage through mitochondrial DNA not only gives insights into the relatedness of individuals, but also on population and migration structures. Furthermore, some infectious and, of course, hereditary diseases are manifest in ancient DNA (Bramanti 2013).

Increasingly, the human body is not only understood as the unchangeable biological basis of a person, but also as a product of a person's practices and habits, diet and nutrition, life circumstances and reproductive history, as well as other life events. This holistic approach, termed social bio-anthropology (Agarwal and Glencross 2011), understands the human body as culturally malleable. The body itself can, in fact, be understood as an artefact, as material culture (Sofaer 2006a). Practices such as skull deformation or swaddling infants may intentionally be applied to shape the body's appearance, but any strenuous and repetitive activity will produce a bone reaction (Wolff 1892). As Jo Sofaer put it, 'Skeletal remains can be regarded as the product of human action in much the same way as other forms of material culture, with gender materially articulated in the skeleton' (Sofaer 2006a: 105). Wear and tear is particularly apparent in the skeletons of ageing bodies, but different kinds of bodily infirmity may have had different social implications (Appleby 2011). Investigating the biological parameters in context with other archaeological information, rather than understanding the anthropological data as the scientific 'given' against which to check the archaeological record, is crucial for new insights into life and death in the early Iron Age.

Understanding the body as lived experience also lies at the heart of phenomenological approaches, albeit in a very different sense. Inspired by Husserl's critique of scientific empiricism (1913), Heidegger's 'being-in-the-world' (2005 [1927], 2006 [1927]) and Merleau-Ponty's insight that the world is experienced through the body and only through the body can action be performed (1962), phenomenologists strive to understand the world as experienced through the human senses. Rather than aiming for objectivity, subjective insights are important, as meaning emerges from bodily engagement with the world (Barrett and Ko 2009, Tilley 1994). Of course, different bodies experience the world in different ways, and there is no such thing as a universal body (Brück 1998, Hamilakis, Pluciennik and Tarlow 2002b: 9, Meskell 1996). It is therefore doubtful which insights, if any, can be gained by attempting to re-experience past landscapes and monuments with one's own body. Drawing attention to the fact that different people experience material culture, places and human relations differently is, however, relevant to understanding the past. Emotions such as anger, fear or delight might be central motives for human actions and practices (for example, Harris and Sørensen 2010, Tarlow 2000, Tarlow 2012). For this study, a unity of the concepts of body and mind is assumed, as well as an 'enworldment' (Ingold 2000) of this body encapsulating the mind. Body and mind are continuously shaped through interaction with the material world; neuroplasticity and embodiment are continuous states of being, and all aspects of cognition are shaped by aspects of the body.

Although understanding the skin as the demarcation between an interior self and an exterior society has proven unsatisfactory (Joyce 2005: 144), the surface of the body clearly provides an opportunity to embellish, ornate and change one's appearance. This includes a range of more or less permanent body alterations, from body painting to tattooing and scarification. The way hair is managed is also a deeply cultural concern. Hair on the head, beards and body may be shaved or grown, left unkempt or elaborately combed, braided and styled in various ways.

Situla Art displays most men with bald or shaved heads under characteristic hats (Angeli 1974). According to Diodorus Siculus, the Celts washed their hair in lime water, which not only bleached it, but also made it stiff and spiky (Sherrow 2006: 77). Grooming equipment found in graves includes razors, and in the central European early Iron Age also a set of toiletry items consisting of tweezers, a nail clipper and a small spoon, which is understood to have been used to clean ears; in the late Iron Age the spoon is less common (Pauli 1978: 260).

The majority of the body's surface is, at least in temperate climates, clothed. By the early Iron Age, there is plenty of evidence for a highly developed textile industry (Banck-Burgess 1999, Banck-Burgess 2012, Grömer 2016, von Kurzynski 1996) with endless variation in spinning, weaving, dyeing and patterning techniques. Incredibly fine coloured and woven textiles have been found in the salt mines of Hallstatt (Plate 9, Grömer et al. 2013), and although they were probably in a secondary context, they prove the importance and high standard of textile work, which is for a number of reasons believed to have been in the hands of women. The patterns found have parallels on contemporaneous pottery and are also displayed in art. Fashions and styles were, as they are today, linked to particular identities. Evidence from the Villanovan cemetery of Verucchio (von Eles 2002, Stauffer 2002), for example, suggests that red garments were already signifying male political power by about 1000 BC. In depictions, men and women were clearly differentiated by the kinds of costumes and head covers they wore, although these also changed according to the kinds of activities they were engaged in and are, in some cases, difficult to read out of context. Dress further includes metal dress fittings such as pins, *fibulae* and belt buckles, which give at least some insight into how garments were worn when the textiles do not survive to the present day. Finally, jewellery plays a part in embellishing the body's surface: earrings, necklaces, bracelets and anklets are worn singly and as sets. Patterns of how these objects were worn on the body and how the sets were composed are again repeated for identity groups constructing and signalling gender, age, status and regional identity.

Dress and jewellery play a large part in the way bodies are represented in the early Iron Age, although a significant proportion of human images are depicted naked (see Section 7.3). Social signs of gender, age and status, encoded in dress, jewellery and associated material culture, are represented in human images and lead to conclusions about identity (cf. Arnold 2008, Sørensen 1997). Gendered identities are apparent from the archaeological material (for example, through dress fittings, jewellery and tools); they most often coincide with biological sex, but may differ in some cases. It is important to note that feminine and masculine identity is not ultimately dependent on a physical male or female body. Archaeological and anthropological data from graves must therefore be carefully evaluated together, without one kind of information taking precedence over the other (contra, for example, Alt and Röder 2014, Kleibschiedel 1997). It is difficult to access bodily ideals such as beauty and body size, as the wide variety of materials and techniques in which bodies are represented significantly affect their perceived form (Rebay-Salisbury 2014). Nevertheless, I have yet to find the representation of an obese person in the early Iron Age, even in materials such as clay where

costs are not an issue, or representations of the elderly and infirm; even representations of children are unusual and ambiguous. Human representations in early Iron Age Europe depict an ideal kind of person; it is doubtful that they were meant to be portraits. In contrast, the early La Tène period statue from Glauberg, Germany (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002, Herrmann 2003), may already divert from this rule: there is a close match between the objects found with the deceased and those represented on the statue.

Representations are situated between reality and imagination. They reflect social ideas and ideals, but also what was thinkable in myth and mythology. As such, even representations of human–animal hybrids, for example, might be used to understand how bodies were thought to be composed and combined. The art itself may take an active role (Gell 1998) in evoking expectations of what a proper way of being and living should look like. Although images are shaped by societies, they also shape societies by setting out social values and norms.

The treatment of the dead body, that is, the cultural responses to the material remains after a person's death, provides further insights into how bodies are understood. It is, however, difficult to differentiate between aspects of the funerary ritual that arise from understanding the dead body as a continuation of the living person, aspects that are meant to guide and help the transition from life to death (in terms of a 'rite of passage', for example, van Gennep 1960 [1909]), and aspects that are dealing with the remains of the person as a matter to dispose. Beliefs about what constitutes a person in life and death vary widely (for example, Carr 1995, Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury in preparation, Ucko 1969) and, accordingly, cultural responses to the dead vary. A belief in a soul or non-material aspect that can be separated from the body may give rise to different funerary practices used when the person is understood to be eternally bound to the body. A soul may be believed to have a continued existence after the corporeal death, have the power to leave a dead body, roam around and perhaps find a new home.

The primary forms of treating bodies after death in the early Iron Age are cremation and inhumation, with varying proportions in time and space. Cremation has sometimes been interpreted in terms of a practice to release the soul trapped in the body (for example, Kaul 2004: 20, Kaul 2005), but it is by no means the only belief connected to cremation (Rebay-Salisbury 2012a) and is insufficient to explain the phenomenon as a whole. Inhumation burials suggest a closer connection between what is thought to constitute the person and the material body. This is suggested both by the presence of grave goods accompanying the body and other practices: the swapped shoes of the 'chieftain' of Hochdorf, Germany, for instance, have been interpreted in two ways, either as a deliberate means to help the transition to the otherworld, in which things are upside-down (Veit 1988), or as a practice to hinder the person from coming back and haunting the living (Koch 2006: 262). Either way, both interpretations suggest that whatever agency is believed to remain after a person's death, it is still believed to be somewhat bound to the physical, material body. Finally, deviant burials (Aspöck 2009, Murphy 2008) or burials in unusual contexts such as settlement pits might provide insights into ideas about specific individuals, whose treatment after death (and

perhaps the actions leading to death) might be related to how the persons or their actions were understood by society.

2.1.2 Personhood

Archaeological studies of personhood (for example, Brück 2006, Fowler 2004, Knapp and van Dommelen 2008, Thomas 2005) have added an interesting twist to the study of bodies and identities. They are concerned with the question of how people in the past understood the concept of what it is to be a person and with 'identifying the forms of human identity, selfhood and embodiment that existed in the past' (Thomas 2005: 186). Ethnographic studies have shown that the notion of a person bounded by the body and comprehended as a discrete, separate entity, both integral and original (Hall 2000), is not a human universal and has its roots in post-Cartesian western ideology. Other societies in Melanesia (Strathern 1988) or India (Busby 1997), for example, stress the divisible and relational aspect of identity more; people are perceived as constituent of social relations in a much more literal sense. This may be based on the perception of kinship relations, seeing the body as a permeable vessel or on the idea of connectedness through shared bodily substances such as blood and breast milk (for example, Altorki 1980, Parkes 2005).

There are individual and relational aspects in any society (LiPuma 1998), including our own. When a person begins and when it ends is not as clear-cut as it first seems; the question of how separate a mother is from the developing child in her, for example, lies at the heart of modern controversies about abortion. When does the personhood of a new baby begin? At conception, at 12 weeks' gestation, at birth, when the first tooth comes through, when the child develops a sense of self, when he or she is able to live on their own? It is social conventions and laws that regulate these important understandings; in classical antiquity, unwanted infants may have been exposed during a period after birth before they were welcomed into society and perceived as a person. Modern societies set a limit for lawful abortions according to how far the pregnancy has proceeded. Ideas about the boundedness of bodies are also problematic when it comes to medical inventions such as blood transfusion or organ transplantation (Copeman 2008, Harris, McDonald and Robb 2013).

Chris Fowler (2004: 8–9) offers useful definitions of key concepts in personhood: he defines dividuality as 'a state of being in which the person is recognised as composite and multiple-authored'. It is easy to understand that social relations make what people are, and most will recognise that we are not only the product of the society we were brought up in, but also dependent on living socially; it is, for the most part, an illusion to think one could live as a rugged individual alone in the woods. We owe most of what we are to relations with other people and the material world. Partibility, the way in which people are thought to be composed of parts, can take a number of forms, including addition and merging (Rebay-Salisbury, Sørensen and Hughes 2010b). The importance of recognising this quality of personhood is that parts may be exchanged or substituted, and with

this, change meanings and connotations. This will be of importance, for example, when we try to understand hybrids in early Iron Age art. Permeability is a similar concept, but here it is not recognisable parts, but the flow of substances that is crucial and may change the internal composition of a person. Lastly, fractal relations may exist, where relationships between self-similar entities are conceptually similar at every scale; a homologous logic might be applied to bodies, things, and groups of entities such as pots, people and clans (Fowler 2008).

It is important to recognise that people cannot be classified as either individuals or dividuals, but, as different aspects of personhood are stressed in various ways and through many kinds of practice, original modes of personhood emerge from a variety of contexts at different times (Brittain and Harris 2010). All people are individuals in the sense that they are personally unique, and yet ‘individual’ has the connotation of being indivisible, with a constant, fixed self and a personal identity (Fowler 2004: 8–9). Although some scholars prefer not to use the term individual in the context of European prehistory at all (for example, Thomas 2004), most people would agree that ‘experiencing oneself as a living individual is part of human nature’ (Knapp and van Dommelen 2008: 15). The existence of the concept of the individual has a long tradition in Europe that may well reach deep into European prehistory. Others suggest that the notion of individuality may first have been most strongly emphasised during the Bronze Age (Bradley 1984, Shennan 1982).

Keeping an open mind to the fact that personhood might have been constructed in a number of ways can prove to be useful in the interpretation of the archaeological record of early Iron Age societies in central Europe. Past people not only formed attitudes to human bodies and gave them meaning, but also extrapolated these meanings to other things and formed metaphors in relation to the human body. Vessels that are made to look like people are an obvious example of this principle (for examples of face urns from the Bronze and Iron Ages in northern and central Europe, see Kneisel 2012), but pots may be generally thought of in a similar way as people, consisting of body parts that are named the same way, such as neck, shoulder and foot. Similarly, the containing quality of pots may be extrapolated to the human body, for instance, when the body is thought of as a vessel containing the soul. These cross-overs in how people think about bodies and things might give us further insights into prehistoric cosmology, how prehistoric people understood themselves and others in relation to the world.

As such, recognising that different societies have alternative ontologies, different ways in which lines are drawn – if at all – between different categories, is helpful in examining our own preconceptions and dissolving traditional dichotomies, changing what ‘we “see” when we unearth other peoples’ “past lifeworlds”’ (Alberti and Bray 2009: 337). This might apply to different stages of life, for instance. Our own society differentiates childhood from adulthood and sets gradual legal boundaries in relation to the biological age of children, ranging from 12, 14, 16, 18 and 21. Reaching these chronological ages comes with more privileges and responsibilities. Childhood in the past, however, might have been constructed differently or not conceptualised as a separate category at all (for example, Baxter

2008, Pawleta 2004). Another example is that of boundaries between humans and animals. Today apes are being recognised in the Western world as somewhat more evolutionarily related to us and therefore worth protecting; there are even some discussions about whether or not human rights should be extended to apes. There are certainly examples of pet dogs being anthropomorphised into little children, wearing hand-knitted pullovers and eating cake at the table. Human–animal relations and categorisations in the past are equally worth studying, for instance, through modes of co-habitation, art or burial customs. Horse burials at the eastern fringes of the Hallstatt area, for example, do raise the question of a special status of horses (for example, Dular 2007), a status that may include granting horses aspects of personhood. The study of Iron Age personhood can almost be understood as a prerequisite to studying identity, as it defines the entities of analysis.

2.1.3 Identity

Identity in the original sense of the word means ‘sameness’, but its meaning in terms of the person has changed to incorporate the sum of all the idiosyncrasies that make a person unique. Individual identity is constructed through difference rather than on the basis of what people have in common. Identity can be learned, adopted, constructed, emphasised and changed, and as such has many active components, but aspects of identity are not necessarily, or not at all, chosen at free will. The world into which a person is born already sets the parameters of some aspects of identity. Identity is constantly assumed and ascribed by others in their constant need to make the world comprehensible through classification and the recognition of the known – thus to some extent, it is in the eye of the beholder. Searching for personal or individual identity runs the risk of conflating ancient and modern experience (Meskell 2002: 281), as building and emphasising a ‘self-identity’ might be a modern concern (Insoll 2006: 3, Scott 1997). Recently, there has been a vivid discussion of the nature of identity amongst anthropologists (for example, Battaglia 1990, Hallowell 1960, Strathern 1988, Trudelle Schwarz 1997), which provide cautionary examples against assuming similar ways of constructing identities in prehistory to modern western ideology (cf. Siedentop 2014).

It is debatable if concerns of self-expression have been at the forefront of understanding oneself in the past, even if social or group identities are recognisable in the archaeological record. Identity can also be defined as the sum of particular group memberships, such as ethnicity, age group and gender group (for example, Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2006, Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005). Identity can in this sense be understood as sameness among group members who are bound together by common characteristics. Identity is therefore best understood as a relational concept, sitting somewhere between the self and society; hence ‘negotiating identity’ is about finding one’s own place in the world in a network of social relations (Holland et al. 1998). In that sense, identities are contextual and provisional (Cavallaro 2001). Personal and group identity is therefore inextricably intertwined: individuals are always part of social groups, and yet groups are

more than merely the sum of individuals. Social groups can be of very different natures and constitute themselves differently at different times.

Identities are neither given nor set at any point in time. Multiple identities can be held, and identities can shift and change (Casella and Fowler 2004). Changing identities may be socially marked and accompanied by a variety of practices. Famous are initiation rites (van Gennep 1960 [1909]) and changes of appearance (Sørensen 1997), both aspects to an extent observable in the past by archaeological means. Social roles as particular aspects of identities have to be learned through personal experience and are negotiated with the whole society. The negotiation of identity takes place through interaction with others, both on an unconscious level and discursively, but essentially the moulding of identity is a process informed by the interaction of persons with their immediate social surroundings.

Communicating identities is sending and recognising clues that make the identity of one person understandable to the other. The means of communication, used consciously or not, involve dress, hairstyle, gait, postures and gestures, behaviour and habitus (Bourdieu 1977, Bourdieu 1990, Giddens 1991). They all carry meanings and messages to the observer. Often material culture is part of identity construction and communication, or practices leave traces in the ground. Through these windows into the past, some aspects of identities may be interpretable in the fragmentary archaeological record, while others get lost in translation into modern times.

Burial evidence and the depiction of individuals in art have one thing in common: in terms of understanding identity, they are third-party evidence. The dead 'do not bury themselves' (Barrett 1994, Parker Pearson 1999), although they might have some agency during their lifetime to decide about their own burial (Arnold 2001, Williams 2004). Burials are carried out by the mourning community, and the identity of the deceased can be manipulated accordingly. The archaeological evidence therefore carries information about those burying as well as the buried person. The depiction of humans in art may carry information about the identity of depicted individuals and people engaging in social interactions, but rarely will they be self-portraits. They are made by artists or craftspeople, perhaps under commission, who have their own views and ways of seeing, classifying, understanding and reflecting on the identities they depict. As mediators of communication, however, it is they who select the very clues to a person's identity to make their message understandable. Pieces of art can then, in themselves, become agents of communicating identity (Gell 1998).

The most important building blocks of identity include sex and gender, including sexuality and reproduction, age and stages of the lifecycle, wealth and status, ethnicity, ideology and religion. Humans, like other vertebrate animals, evolved a reproductive system depending on a male and female part; as such, most people are born with a biological sex that is either male or female. This biological basis is, in many societies, the foundation of gender. Gender as an important component of identity is both a personal experience and a social categorisation (Sørensen 2000). Babies are born as girls or boys, although they are blissfully unaware of this fact. One question a new mother often gets to hear is 'What is the gender of

the baby?’ The only correct answer to this question is ‘I do not know yet.’ In our society, gender is ascribed at birth, but as an experience, gender has to be learned and practiced (Sofaer 2006b). Although at first sight, the male–female dichotomy dominates discussions on gender, it has been realised that there is the possibility of trans-gender, third-gender and other (‘queer’) experiences; societies may ascribe different genders at different stages of life, bring up children in gender roles usually attributed to the opposite sex or create further genders than just male and female; for example, ‘two-spirit-people’ (Holliman 1997).

Although a specific gender archaeology did not emerge before the 1980s in the context of feminist concerns, the attempt to understand male and female roles in societies and the division of labour is much older (for example, Bachofen 1861). Graves provided the perfect opportunity to investigate sets of objects typically associated with males or females. In the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, ascribing gender to graves in an intuitive way was the norm; later, anthropologists investigating skeletal features determined the biological sex of the individual in the grave, and archaeologists juxtaposed this information with data derived from the grave inventories. The interpretation of gendered human images in early Iron Age Europe is likewise primarily based on intuitive categorisations along the lines of female = wears skirt and male = wears trousers, which has caused ample critique (for example, Leskovar 2005); and yet people in the early Iron Age did involve dress in the construction of gender.

Gender archaeology has since moved on to analyse gender as a lived experience through understanding gendered practices and the life experience of gendered bodies (Sofaer and Sørensen 2013). This has led to a critique of the commonly used conceptual distinction between sex and gender and towards the analysis of masculinity, femininity and sexuality as a gendered experience, exploring how sex, gender and sexuality are mutually constituted (Butler 1990, Butler 1993, Joyce 2004, Joyce 2008, Knapp 1998b, Perry and Joyce 2001, Voss 2000). Studies of sexuality most often include the investigation of reproduction management, sexual representations, sexual identities, prostitution and the sexual politics of institutions (Taylor 1996, Voss 2008). Representations of naked bodies and persons in sexual acts are indeed part of the early Iron Age image repertoire in central Europe. Furthermore, a number of bodies are characterised as sexless, perhaps not involved in reproduction (see Section 7.5). Although sexuality is often connected to fertility and reproduction, much of the actual sex life in a person’s lifetime has nothing to do with this; sex might be an act of bodily pleasure or, conversely, of dominance and control.

Reproduction and childbirth is a topic that deserves more attention than it is currently given in gender literature. The experience of childbirth and mothering is a very distinctive part of the life experience of many, but not all, women. Much of many women’s adult lives in the past would have been spent either pregnant or breastfeeding, which are both significant bodily experiences. It is widely assumed that all women go through the same stages of life, encompassing childhood, adolescence, marriage, child rearing and grandmotherhood. And yet, not all women had reproductive success in the past. Some died too young or were

infertile; others' children died before reaching adulthood; some might have been excluded from reproduction for social reasons, whereas others might have had the choice to control their fertility and spacing of children. The roles of women in general and mothers with reproductive success might have been conceptualised differently and have to be analysed accordingly where possible. Child rearing is not only incredibly labour intensive, it often involves a number of people other than the mother and numerous culturally specific practices, from breastfeeding, carrying (Taylor 2010: 123) and swaddling (Frenken 2011) to child abuse (Laes and Mustakallio 2011, Waldron 2006) and infanticide (Conklin and Morgan 1996, Krauß 1998, Scheper-Hughes 1992, Scott 2001). Infancy is the first chapter in understanding age as a category of identity.

Age can be understood in terms of absolute, linear progress in time – the chronological age – but also in terms of physiological and sociological age, which might differ (Ginn and Arber 1995, Robb 2002). The physiological age takes the person's health and physical abilities into account, as they result from the lived-in environment and challenges to the body through work. Bodily tasks that are repeated over and over leave an imprint on the bones through stress markers, abrasion and general wear and tear. The ageing body may become fragile and more limited in the scope of physical abilities, but the meaning of old age is a social construct. How the elderly body is perceived and how old age is socially recognised and responded to vary culturally and are therefore worth studying; comparing the skeletal record of elderly persons with grave inventories is one way forward (for example, Appleby 2011).

A further question related to age is whether and when age was socially recognised and conceptualised in terms of stages a person went through. These might be termed childhood, adolescence, the pre- and post-marital stages, adulthood, maturity and old age, but are by no means universal. Societies differ in the number and kinds of life stages they recognise and the importance that is attributed to these stages. Transitions from one stage of life to another are often marked by elaborate feasts and rites of passage (van Gennep 1960 [1909]), and different behaviours might be appropriate for people in different stages of life, for instance, for unmarried and married women. Stages of life might be marked materially through practices involving the body (circumcision, tattoos, scarification and so on), new hairstyles and new ways of dressing (for example, veiling, wedding rings). Archaeologically these issues have been addressed by cemetery studies that compare the physiological age of the person at death with typical sets of dress elements and grave goods (for example, Burmeister 2000, Hodson 1990).

Gender and age are intrinsically linked and have to be investigated together (Sofaer 2006b). Gender, for instance, might only be recognised as a category for persons during the reproductive years, but not for children or the elderly. Stages of life might typically change at different points in time for men and women. In many societies, women marry earlier than men; hence males typically have a longer period of adolescence, especially when it is the young men who have to acquire resources necessary to set up a family, which might cause all different kinds of problems (Barrett 2008). Weapons as markers of a warrior status might

have to be earned or inherited, and elaborate jewellery is often linked to females getting married or becoming mothers. In old age, material markers of life stages and wealth might be passed on to the next generation or deposited for the gods; an absence of material goods related to the remains of elderly persons is therefore not the best indicator of their status (for example, Gerritsen 2003).

Status is an important component of social identity in later European prehistory, at least since the beginning of metallurgy in the Copper and Bronze Ages (Harding 2000, Renfrew 1978). Rank (Wason 1994) refers to the hierarchical position within a society, based on one's perceived importance. The social status of one person to another is linked to a number of factors, most prominently access to resources, material wealth and power over others (Weber 1922). 'Soft' factors such as skill, knowledge and the overall likeability of a person may also have to be considered and contribute to a person's prestige (see Schumann 2015). Status differences have been noted very early on in archaeology (Babić 2005) and can be expressed in a number of ways such as settlement structures and differences in grave goods and labour investment. The emergence of social complexity and the study of differences in social status and class through cemetery analysis have a long pedigree in studies of early Iron Age central Europe and have also been favourite subjects in a processual framework. Arthur Saxe (1971) and Lewis Binford (1971) argued that the analysis of the variability within the mortuary practices of a single culture is a fruitful endeavour, as graves do provide a fragmented, but accurate, picture of a society, and burial represents the total social persona of an individual; the complexity of a society can therefore be understood through burial practices.

This approach has been criticised as very mechanistic and simple. The equations 'lots of grave goods = rich and powerful person; few grave goods = dependent person' do not hold true for all time periods and places, as famously demonstrated by a study of the Cambridge cremation cemetery (Parker Pearson 1982). John O'Shea (1984) suggested considering the different roles of artefacts in the graves in a better way and to address status differences only after age and gender had been ruled out as causing differences. Joseph Tainter's (1978) study of 93 societies revealed that only 5 per cent use grave goods to symbolise the status of a deceased person, but for all societies the labour investment of the burial is relevant. This led to a stronger focus on burial practices and performance. Status representation practices might differ enormously even between groups living close together, and the status of a person may not be accurately reflected in graves at all, but be distorted and misrepresented; the roles grave goods play might range from personal possessions to gifts from the mourning community (Meyer-Orlac 1982). Clearly, we have to understand grave inventories as a product of relations between the dead and the burying community, as a place where social concerns are worked through, which may include power games and inheritance squabbles.

And yet, the transition from the late Bronze Age to the early Iron Age is a period when status becomes a major concern in central Europe, negotiated in the mortuary arena and other spheres of social interaction. Differences in grave goods and labour investments in the construction of burial monuments become more

and more noticeable and lead to a monumentalisation of the landscape in various parts of the Hallstatt culture. Using cemetery data to understand status differences between individuals has been undertaken in various areas of the Hallstatt culture and has led to interesting conclusions (for example, Burmeister 2000, Hodson 1986, Rebay 2006, Schumann 2015). Status expression varies between areas, and it is time to rethink and reassess how status was constituted and how it was produced in a social context. Status may be ascribed at birth and through descent or marriage, but may also have a component that is based on personal achievement such as heroic behaviour in battle or excellent craftworking skills. A society's ranking system may be quite fluid and permeable, allowing personal movement throughout the informal scale, but may also become very rigid and class based, like the Indian caste system. Understanding how individuals gained status, maintained it and exercised power over others is a clue to understanding how status affected people's lives as components of individual identity.

Although the archaeology of social differentiation dominated early Iron Age studies in the second half of the twentieth century, ethnicity and regional group identity remained a hidden paradigm. Studying the distribution of different types of finds and their interpretation within the culture–historical paradigm still governs much of how archaeology is thought of in the study area (for a comprehensive discussion, see Gramsch 2006, Popa and Stoddart 2014, Trigger 1989, Veit 1989). Group identities are widely thought of as approachable and understandable through patterns of distribution of material culture, with boundaries of artefact type distribution determining the ‘cultural circles’ (Rebay-Salisbury 2011), whereas the interaction of groups is often perceived and interpreted literally in terms of the movement and shifting of ethnic groups. Ethnicity is normally understood as consisting of a group of people using the same language and material culture, but also being part of the same ‘race’, or, in more modern terms, genetic group (Lucy 2005). Apart from the fact that some implicit methodological assumptions have been questioned and challenged by ethno-archaeological studies (for instance in regard to pottery decoration, see Hodder 1982), the level of satisfaction with these kinds of studies is surprising. Attaching a group or ethnic label to an archaeological phenomenon does not actually explain anything or tell us much about the actual people involved. As such, the very concept of a Hallstatt culture can quite easily be questioned, but deeply rooted in and validated through centuries of research history (explained, for example, in Müller-Scheeßel 2000, Sørensen and Rebay 2008a), it remains a useful shorthand and quick reference to time and space. People whose associated material culture does ‘not quite fit’ into regional traditions have long been recognised as foreign or as immigrants and tell us important tales about the maintenance and acceptance of a different individual identity under the pressure of the peer group. The study of the mobility of individual people and the movement of groups have recently got new momentum through the wider integration of isotope studies in archaeology (for example, Oelze et al. 2012).

In approaching regional identity groups, it is important to acknowledge that they come at different scales, from household to village to wider regions and

landscapes. The concept of ‘nested identities’ or ‘layers of identity’ (Fernández-Götz 2013) is therefore useful to think with. Not all of the different levels of ethnic identity are necessarily associated with material culture and shared practices, and thus are archaeologically accessible, but some of them may be; furthermore they are easily confused with other identity markers (Fernández-Götz 2013: 131). Macro-ethnic tags are particularly unhelpful. There is a vast body of literature on the ‘Celts’ that embraces Hallstatt areas as ‘Celtic’ (Birkhan 1997, Cunliffe 1997, Powell 1980, Rieckhoff and Biel 2001). I would like to refrain from this problematic and unhelpfully coarse classification and instead discuss similarities and differences within the project area in terms of the subtleties of group identities. Connecting names of historically known peoples with archaeological evidence is problematic on many levels, especially if the actual historical record does not provide much more than a description of otherness from a Greek or Roman standpoint. It is unknown what ancient historians meant by Celts; how ethnic groups were defined; and if the term referred to groups with similar language, material culture, beliefs and identity, for example, and it is unclear if there is an actual link to the modern Celts, defined as speakers of Celtic languages (cf. Collis 2003). Although post-Roman, medieval sources in Celtic languages can provide useful analogies to supplement ideas derived from the much more accessible medieval feudal system (for example, Karl 2006), they do not tell us anything about prehistoric notions of identity themselves.

Religion and beliefs are amongst the most difficult topics to access in the absence of written sources, and yet they are important components of people’s lives and identities. By religion, I mean the belief in a transcendent power that goes beyond people’s everyday experience of the world and has the power to influence people’s fates and explain the world’s mysteries. This belief may be conceptualised as related to the cosmos – for example, to the sun or the moon – or to gods with more or less anthropomorphic traits. Religion may be more or less formalised in any given society and a private, public or social concern. The archaeology of religion (Edwards 2005, Insoll 2004) is primarily concerned with the beliefs of groups and less so with beliefs as components of individual identity. Today, in a secular society, there is room for several different religions and beliefs within the boundaries of a society or nation-state (albeit rarely without conflict), but in the past, religious deviance may not have been tolerated.

Beliefs more generally include what people think about the world, the body, death and the afterlife: what it needs to make the world and people’s place within it understandable in their own terms. Importantly, beliefs do not have to be ‘rational’, coherent and consistent; multiple and conflicting ideas can be held and prioritised under certain circumstances (Rebay-Salisbury 2012a: 15). Ideology follows on from beliefs: ideology can be defined as a set of beliefs, a worldview that is dominant within a given society or proposed by the dominant class of a society to encompass all members of this society.

A related concept is that of cosmology, beliefs about the origin and the order of the world and its place in the universe. Most societies have a number of myths, sacred narratives that explain how the world and humankind came to be in its

present form (Dundes 1984). These myths may become materialised by representing narratives in art. In early Iron Age Europe, snippets of mythological stories and beings are captured in art. The material side of beliefs also plays out through practice. Rituals are repeated social actions that may leave traces in the soil for archaeologists to study. Although not all rituals are religious, the ones that are can be explained with a concern about influencing one's fate through making connections with the transcendent powers – for instance, through prayer and offerings.

Towards the early Iron Age, central Europe is characterised by a number of interesting social phenomena that may best be explained in terms of an ideological change, a new *zeitgeist* (Hakenbeck, Rebay-Salisbury and Salisbury in press) or shared cosmological understanding of the world affecting not only the area of the Hallstatt culture, but Europe more broadly. One symptom of this change is a renewed focus on the human body in funerary practices (Rebay-Salisbury in press-a) after cremation; few individualising features had been the dominant funerary rite for centuries (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury in preparation). A greater visual status differentiation, accessible through monumental funerary structures and elaborate grave goods for a small sector of society, reinforces the idea that some individuals rise significantly over others; some humans may even be thought of as heroes or deities after death. Another symptom is the return of human imagery to the body of figurative art after a period of rigid and restricted iconography, with only a few figurative elements such as birds, ships and some celestial motifs (for example, Kossack 1954b, Meller 2004, Wirth 2006). It becomes possible to depict humans or gods in human form – in any case, the distinction between (some) humans and gods becomes blurred.

A significant change in religion and ideology affecting a wide area is therefore not particularly useful to understand personal or group identity; it is, however, part of people's subjective and personal experience of the world. More locally, we might be able to differentiate material traces of particular religious practices such as offerings in sanctuaries and depositions. Although rare, ritual specialists are identifiable in early Iron Age graves (for example, Knüsel 2002, Ramsel 2008, Teržan 1996), and amulets and charms let us glimpse a little of prehistoric beliefs and the strategies applied to influence one's fate in a beneficial way and to ward off evil (Pauli 1975). Particular gestures, such as the ubiquitous orant, may point to communication with transcendent powers and gods, but other gestures and postures may be used more locally and be reflected in local material culture and art.

As we have seen, most aspects that constitute identity, personhood and the body are relational and emerge from the tension between the individual and society; it is therefore useful to turn to network theory next to better understand relations between people, people and material culture and the dynamics that affect these relations.

2.2 Networks

The second part of the theoretical framework that forms the foundation of this book is a network perspective. An increased interest in networks and how they

function might be traceable to the recent rise of the World Wide Web as a web of knowledge (Berners-Lee, Hendler and Lassila 2001), as well as social networking online. Social networking ‘understands’ social relationships in terms of nodes and ties, with nodes being individuals, organisations or businesses, and ties being the all-important relationships or connections between them. The aim of ‘networking’ is to increase the number of nodes and ties, to gain information and to promote and spread it to as wide an audience as possible.

A number of archaeological studies have focussed on networks in the Mediterranean region and beyond in recent years (for example, Blake and Knapp 2005, Horden and Purcell 2000, Knappett 2011, Malkin 2011, van Dommelen and Knapp 2010), although the idea of connectedness, social change through interaction, trade and exchange has been a key concern of archaeology since the beginning of the discipline. ‘Networks’ is a concept that is used in the wider sense to emphasise the relationships between people, animals, material culture and places; a ‘networks perspective’ views the world as a set of relationships and flows between actors. More narrowly, networks analysis applies techniques and approaches to reveal social networks and investigate their nature and characteristics (Conway and Steward 2009: 69–81).

Using a networks perspective in archaeology must go beyond the purely social, as the people as actors are rarely recoverable. Material culture, however, is linked to people and places, and connections between elements of material culture reveal relationships that must have existed. We can, for instance, trace a common raw material source, compare techniques and technologies for common traits and investigate the distribution of similar objects within geographical or topological space. Investigating networks means both trying to understand the nature and structure of social systems and the role and behaviour of network elements; it is therefore a way to investigate both structure and agency (for example, Barrett 2001, Dobres and Robb 2000, Giddens 1984) and how they mutually bring each other into being. Practice in the sense of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1990) connects objects and people, as the relationship between the structured environment and the structured dispositions engendered in people leads them to reproduce the environment, constituting the lifeworlds and contexts in which people act, even if they become transformed in the process. Actor–network theory (Latour 2005) is probably best known for attributing agency to non-material things; its ‘material-semiotic’ method aims to map relationships that are simultaneously material and semiotic (that is, between things and concepts). The classic sociological example is the school, which involves children, teachers and their ideas, but also a building and various technologies forming a single network. Actor–network theory aims to explain how these networks come together and act as a whole, while emphasising that they need to be constantly performed, made and re-made to remain in existence. This concept is useful in archaeology in the sense that it understands networks as engagement between people, objects and places, and the emphasis on performing networks is a fruitful way to integrate the notion of practice in archaeological studies.

Networks understood in this sense are open ended, ever-ramifying and all-encompassing; in short, impossible to investigate wholly. Setting the boundaries

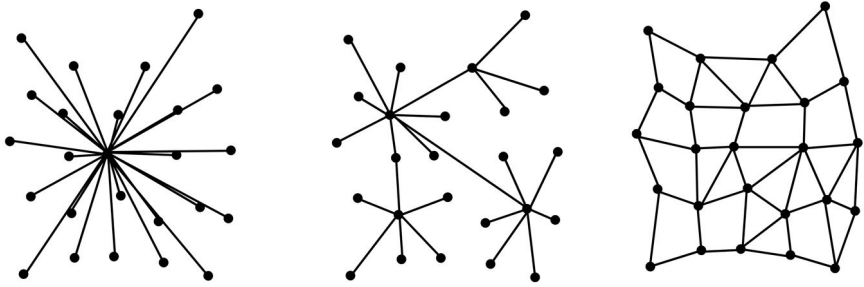


Figure 2.1 Types of networks: centralised, decentralised and distributed networks (after Baran 1964: fig. 1)

of network analysis is therefore a complex problem, as the boundaries are always artificial (for example, Conway and Steward 2009: 70, Freeman, White and Romney 1992: 61, Mitchell 1969). A network study must focus on a section of the network, either a subset of relationships or/and a set of relationships within an enclosed geographical space; alternatively, a focal network may explore the links and ties of only one single network entity. Network studies range from small-scale interactions – for instance, between family members – to the wider social world within the community and extend to questions of inter-regional interaction, colonial encounters and global connectivity (Foxhall et al. in press). Distribution maps in archaeology, for instance, are amongst the earliest attempts to visualise networks; although all they do is represent co-presence in geographic space, the hidden assumption is that something links the dots on the maps, be it a common ethnicity (for example, Childe 1950, Kossinna 1911), a common sense of aesthetics (for example, Megaw and Megaw 2001, Wells 2008b), shared technological knowledge or other factors. Network studies explore the properties of relationships between different entities to get to the bottom of what it is that links the dots together. If we understand specific sites as nodes in a network, for instance, we can begin to differentiate centralised, decentralised and distributed networks (Fig. 2.1) by the way the sites are connected to each other and interpret the role of any given archaeological site within this network.

2.2.1 *Networks as an archaeological concept: features and properties*

A network's basic structure consists of nodes and ties, the entities and the relations between them. Complex networks show patterns of connection between their elements that are neither purely regular nor purely random; it is the patterns and rules of connections that we are interested in to explain cultural phenomena. In a social network, nodes are persons, actors or organisations; in a more general sense nodes in a network may be artefacts, objects, places, contexts, sites. Ties, links and connections are the terms used for relationships; further concepts include *flow*, the 'content' of transactions that occur through the relationships, and *mechanisms*, the

modes of interaction employed (Conway and Steward 2009: 73). Steve Conway and Fred Steward (2009: 86, Table 3.2) provide an excellent overview of network dimensions, and the following overview of features and properties is based on their observations and commented on from an archaeological point of view.

The size of a network primarily describes the number of nodes in a network; these may be individuals or organisations, but also sites, finds or other entities. The size of the network does not refer to its spatial distribution; it is subject to the boundaries set by the researcher, and in archaeological case studies, a number of other factors influence this selection, such as preservation and archaeological visibility. The density of a network refers to the ‘number of linkages between the various members of a network as a proportion of the total number of possible linkages’ (Conway and Steward 2009: 86). In a high-density network, many relations are redundant, as they are multiple connections to the same nodes, but these connections are, of course, particularly strong and continuously re-enacted over time. In a network, more densely connected regions may be called clusters or cliques. Reachability means the ‘average number of linkages between any two members in a network’ (Conway and Steward 2009: 86–87) and is calculated from the number of links that separate any two actors in a network. An individual with a high number of links is also called a ‘star’ (in a network graph, this is just what this node looks like), whereas isolates have no connections to others. Direct connections between two nodes are better for the speed and accuracy of information flow between them; each separate step along the line of transmission enhances the likelihood that information is being transformed, adapted or lost. The ‘Chinese whispers’ effect in the transfer of knowledge can indeed be seen in the archaeological record, as ideas are adjusted to fit local customs and conventions. The diversity of a network describes how different the nodes in a network are; for instance, if they are persons, this might be in regard to gender, age or ethnicity. The openness of a network refers to the degree to which individuals or organisations in the network are connected to those in other networks. Open networks are characterised by strong ties in the core group, but a number of ties to the outside, whereas members of close networks interact predominately with each other (Conway and Steward 2009: 87). The stability of a network is the ‘degree to which size, membership, diversity or density of a network is stable over time’ (Conway and Steward 2009: 87); this is, in fact, a crucial characteristic for archaeological networks. Networks constantly change and transform, so any representation of a network is, invariably, a snapshot of changing circumstances. In archaeology, we cannot usually say for certain if the phenomena we observe are, strictly speaking, contemporaneous, so we must allow for a wider window of time in our observations. The changing properties and dynamics of networks directly contribute to social change, and, in fact, the way social change unfolds may be partly explicable through understanding the dynamics of networks.

The relationships within a network can also vary and have a number of different qualities. Steve Conway and Fred Steward describe the following as the most important (2009: 82–86). The nature of the relationship explains ‘the creation and persistence of relationships between two individuals or organizations’ (2009: 85);

the relationship in a social network may be, for instance, based on economic interests, family and kinship, affection and friendship. Technology, shape or common raw material sources may link artefacts together; sites may be linked by common features such as size, artefact assemblage or date. Particularly strong are multiplex relationships, which are ‘based on more than one type of tie or relation between two individuals or organizations’ (2009: 85). ‘The degree of formalisation of the relationship between two individuals or organizations’ is called formality, whereas intensity ‘concerns the frequency of interaction and exchange between two individuals or organizations’ (2009: 85). Thinking about Greek and Etruscan material culture found in the Hallstatt area, it is often difficult to tell if the relationships behind these transactions were one-offs or bound into a net of diplomatic contacts and trade enacted regularly over a longer period. Moral codes such as guest-friendship would have been the formal framework in which transactions were carried out.

Symmetry, or reciprocity, is another important factor of relationships, as it describes ‘which exchanges within a relationship are reciprocated’. We must not assume that all relationships are mutual and valued equally on both sides. Imitation or skeuomorphism, for example, would be an example where the relationship is rather one sided, with a clear origin of the idea on the one hand and a clear receptor on the other. Finally, trust in a relationship ‘is the expectation in a relationship that the other party will act reliably, fairly, and exhibit goodwill’ (Conway and Steward 2009: 85). Strong relationships exhibit a higher level of trust than weak ones, and information is more likely to be passed on in trusted relationships. Craft knowledge and technical skills such as metallurgy, which may be understood as the secret magic of transformation (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005: 53), may be kept confidential amongst master and apprentice, who trust each other, but not outsiders.

2.2.2 Personal relationships

Today and in the past, the most important and meaningful relationships are usually within the living and production unit called family and household. A personal network includes family, friends and acquaintances, who know each other on a personal basis rather than in broader categories, and averages about 150 people per person (this number is based on research by Robin Dunbar and therefore is also referred to as Dunbar’s number). The personal network in humans from an egocentric point of view is organised in an inclusive, hierarchical manner: the support clique of about five persons, from whom one would seek advice, support and help in times of distress; the sympathy group of about fifteen persons one feels emotionally close to and contacts at least once a month; the band of about fifty people; and the active network in its entirety. This network comprises about 150 social relations and includes all individuals that one has a personal relationship with and makes a conscious effort to keep in contact with (Dunbar 2010, Dunbar, Gamble and Gowlett 2010). There seem to be constraints on the number of relationships one can maintain at a sensible level, which might be based on

the evolution of the brain (Roberts 2010). Close relationships are demanding and costly; they have to be constantly maintained with some effort, which takes some of the limited time each person has. Before the advent of the Internet, there were also limits to how well a relationship could be maintained if there is a large geographical space in between the two partners.

Kin relationships are networks with particular strength and high density, as kin networks have more ties between individual members than, for instance, networks of friends have. It takes less effort to maintain the network, also, because often within a family, one member takes on the role of the 'kinkeeper' and works at keeping family members in touch with each other (Rosenthal 1985). Organising family get-togethers or feasts, as well as passing on information, gossip and organising support, is often the role of an older female within the family; parents often maintain the relationships between siblings. Even if contacts to cousins are not actively maintained, grandparents might pass on stories along with a sense of family connectedness.

Family can be understood in biological terms as the relationship between persons that share a genealogical origin. Members of a family share a proportion of their DNA. The more DNA they share, the more closely related they are. Although we share 50 per cent of our DNA with parents and siblings, this number dilutes to 25 per cent with uncles and aunts and 12.5 per cent with first cousins; the third cousin twice removed shares only 0.195 per cent of an individual's DNA (given that there are no duplications), at which point relatedness becomes relatively meaningless. Nevertheless, interest in preserving one's own genes might drive help and support within families. The 'grandmother hypothesis', for instance, has suggested that the help of postmenopausal women is a huge contribution to the reproductive success of her children and helps the survival of grandchildren (Hawkes 2004).

Family, however, is as much a social institution as it is a biological fact. It means a group of people affiliated by consanguinity, affinity or co-residence, and although genetic relationships are often implied, family can also include people who are not strictly speaking related. Using the kinship terminology, there is more than one mechanism to make persons just like blood relations: for example, nurture kinship (Schneider 1984), such as adoption and fostering (Howell 2009, Karl 2006), as well as a ceremonial blood-brotherhood, can create such links. A fourth-century BC gold plaque from the burial mound of Kul-Oba, Ukraine, shows an intimate scene in which two Scythians confirm their bond by drinking from one *rhython* (Jacobson-Tepfer 1995: Fig. 55). In some societies, breastfeeding from the same source is what creates kinship relatedness; breast milk rather than blood is seen as the substance that establishes kinship ties and transmits identities such as ethnicity and status (Chapman 2012). 'Milk kinship' not only creates strong bonds, but also creates an incest taboo amongst the 'milk siblings' breastfed from the same woman (for example, in some Arab societies, cf. Altorki 1980, Parkes 2005).

Heirlooms give evidence of inheritance patterns as well as allow us to understand how materials and artefacts are used to transmit mementos of past emotive

connections. Although we understand kinship to be one of the strongest contributors to stability and tradition, it is important to consider other forms of connectiveness. Friendship might also tie people together. The way in which friendship is understood and differentiated from mere acquaintance is culturally diverse; likewise, what is expected of a friend varies widely. Friendship is reciprocal, voluntary and based on trust, goodwill and affection; it often implies mutual help and protection. Other than encounters and casual connections, friendship is maintained over time. Groups of friends are often called cliques, but there are other types of networks with strong group cohesion, including coalitions (exchange-based strategy alignments with reciprocal obligations), as well as groups of comrades (bonded collective action groups such as warrior groups) and colleagues (shared interest and social distinctiveness, Arrow 2010).

2.2.3 *Scaling up*

At a larger scale, interpersonal relationships unfold in communities (Mac Sweeney 2011, Marcus 2000, Moore 2007, Yaeger and Canuto 2000). There are multiple ways in which we can understand communities in relation to networks: as a subset of specific ties, such as the community of craftspeople or the community of people dedicating votives in a sanctuary, or as a spatially bounded group tied into a landscape and place, such as the community living on a specific island (for example, Knapp 2003). The community of practice has been recognised as an important venue of socialisation, where people learn to act, produce and craft in culturally specific ways that may create identity (Kohring 2007). Community is understood as a form of social identity (Mac Sweeney 2011: 3) actively constructed and constantly enacted. Communities are groups of people that come together at specific points; the community comes into being through enactment. Landscapes may contribute to constituting communities and are simultaneously a part of the network. In contrast to networks, which are ultimately without boundaries, communities are concise, have boundaries and, at least before global ubiquitous computing, a shared place. In terms of scale, communities are located somewhere in between the household and the region, and yet remain difficult to define. Community is a rather loose term in archaeology, often used to refer to people from specific sites or cemeteries; in that sense, it is an analytical category rather than a sociological one.

Beyond communities, contacts on an inter-regional level have most often been interpreted in terms of trade and exchange (Hänsel 1995, Renfrew 1969, Renfrew 1975, Wells 2008a). Earlier interpretations focussed on the economic logic of trade, taking market dynamics such as supply and demand into account and the ways exchange transactions were carried out, for instance, with or without middlemen or specialised traders. Trade can, however, also be understood in terms of social interactions (Agbe-Davies and Bauer 2010). The anthropological literature has contributed greatly to our understanding of trade by discussing the social mechanisms of gift exchange (Mauss 1954, Peebles 2010), emphasising how social contacts are maintained through a system of credit and debt that goes

beyond the economic. Social debt, the feeling of having mutual responsibilities and obligations towards others, is the glue that holds societies together. Gift exchange between communities, and, in fact, between communities and gods, illustrates the cultural and ideological components of exchange transactions.

World-systems theory (Wallerstein 1974) contributed to understanding the dynamics of socio-political and economic systems at the global scale. The core-periphery concept was adopted particularly in European prehistory (for example, Kristiansen 1994, Sherratt 1993). In this view the 'core' of the economic system is a developed economy and a complex political system, as well as advanced technology and craftsmanship; this core is in control of the system and can be located in Egypt and Mesopotamia for the late Bronze Age, shifting further to the central Mediterranean towards the Iron Age. The contact or buffer zone includes politically and economically subordinated polities and agencies, such as colonies and 'acculturated natives', which play an important role in mediating contacts between the core and the periphery. In the latter, staples and raw materials are sourced, and high-value objects such as prestige goods can be found. The flow of goods from the core is archaeologically evident through manufactured goods, luxury items and technology transmitted to the contact zone and the periphery, but it is much more difficult to determine what flows back. Raw materials, timber, metals and foodstuff such as cereals are attested from historical sources, but are difficult to find in the archaeological record; the exchange of people such as slaves, mercenaries and seasonal labourers was certainly part of the system, perhaps even at a larger scale than we commonly imagine today (Taylor 2001). It is important to understand that a world-system may include exploitative processes with economic dependencies, just like the relationship between the developed world and suppliers today. There are obvious winners and losers; in the short haul, some crafty and business-minded intermediaries might profit greatly (not least by exploiting their own people), while in the long haul, the intermediate zone and the periphery do profit from the transmission of technologies and the social change they trigger. The system might be kept temporarily stable by the establishment of military threat and through diplomatic contacts, including hostage exchange.

Although world-systems theory has been criticised as being overly simplistic, neglecting the agency of people, underestimating the scope of action for the periphery and over-emphasising material links at the expense of ideological and social connections (see Hall, Kardulias and Chase-Dunn 2011: for a comprehensive review), it is a very useful model for understanding the relationship between the Mediterranean and central Europe in the first half of the first millennium BC. It explains a number of phenomena that can be traced archaeologically, including Mediterranean imports into Hallstatt areas, the quick and often short-lived rise of elites at different chronological points during the early Iron Age and the cultural assimilation and adoption of a number of different technologies. Understanding the early Iron Age as in a relationship dependent, but not totally reliant, upon the Mediterranean, thus retaining agency and a certain scope of independent action, is important. Further, agreeing with the model at the large scale does not imply disregarding all the complexities as well as historical developments. Several systems of trade might have existed at once, including down-the-line trade,

and ties between people established through kinship or religion might have been the primary motives of transactions which also extended into the economic. That a world-system is not historically stable and resilient to change has been demonstrated by Andrew Sherratt (1993: in particular Fig. 12), who mapped long-distance trade routes across Europe shifting farther west at the transition from Hallstatt C to D around 600 BC, particularly after the establishment of Greek colonies in the western Mediterranean.

It is questionable if the term ‘colonialism’ is appropriate to use for the ancient world, as most often it is used in the context of European settlement and political control over the rest of the world. ‘Colonialism is a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another’ (Kohn 2012). It is an organised process for specific ends, such as trade or growing food, and involves an unequal, exploitative relationship between the incoming colonisers and the local population. Inevitably, migration is involved, with the movement of people on a substantial scale (van Dommelen 2012). Colonialism creates networks in two quite different ways. First, contacts between the ‘home country’ and the ‘home away from home’ (as the ancient Greeks called colonies, cf. van Dommelen 2012: 396) often remained strong, and goods as well as people travelled back and forth. The foundation of a colony was not a one-off event after which ties were cut, but began a long process of entanglement. Second, the relationship between the local, indigenous population and the incomers needs to be considered. Trade was often established before a more formal ‘colonialisation’ took place. Encounters with newcomers and their material culture triggered a range of changes in the social world of the indigenous population, as they became embedded in the wider world of the Mediterranean. On the other hand, customs of the locals were also often adopted by the colonisers. Colonial encounters in Iron Age France, especially after the foundation of Massalia around 600 BC (Dietler 1997, Dietler 2010), for instance, did not only have local impact, but repercussions on Hallstatt societies as a whole, as consumption practices – wine and associated ceramics – as well as technological practices, were adopted more widely. But it is not all about the wonderful light of civilisation brought to the natives; there is also evidence of resistance and military conflict, as well as persistence or even revival of alien indigenous practices (such as headhunting, cf. Armit 2012). Under the influence of post-colonial theory (Gosden 2001, van Dommelen 2011), more emphasis is placed on understanding the complex relationships between colonisers and indigenous peoples, including understanding hybridity and ‘third space’. The analysis of the cultural legacy of colonialism, often explicitly political, involves hearing and analysing multiple voices. Nothing engenders multiple identities as much as moving between cultures and places; a feeling of belonging neither here nor there gave rise to the notion of ‘diaspora space’ (Brah 1996: 242) to embrace ‘the entanglement of the genealogies of dispersal with those of staying put’.

2.2.4 Network effects and the flow of information

After reviewing the multiple ways in which we can understand networks and the scales of networks that make up our own and the ancient world, this section

reviews network effects and the way information flows within networks. Network size, structure and composition have considerable impact in the way information is transmitted, innovations are adopted and societies changed. Typically, any individual's social network has a small number of strong ties involving high levels of trust and mutual support and a large number of weak ties, loose connections that are not necessarily maintained for substantial periods. Both kinds of ties have their role in the transmission of ideas.

Strong ties, such as family relations and the immediate community people are born and raised in, are important in maintaining traditions. High levels of trust and perhaps an emotional engagement are necessary for some transactions in the network – for instance, borrowing resources when it is unclear if they can ever be repaid, or taking care of children and the elderly. Styles, preferences and embodied technologies – knowledge that is usually not made explicit or discursive – are most often transmitted within the community of practice (Kohring 2007) as part of socialisation and upbringing. Strong ties are thus crucial in maintaining the status quo, in transmitting technologies and in keeping traditions alive. Nevertheless, maintaining traditions is an active and dynamic process, just as innovation and cultural change are too.

Weak ties, on the other hand, are important for rapid transmission of ideas over large distances. Their strength (Granovetter 1973) contributes considerably to the transmission of cultural elements and to innovation. A wide network of weak ties is helpful for the flow of information, for instance, as gossip races through the neighbourhood. For learning about a job opportunity or finding a good doctor, these networks work fine, but they have little changing power; they are links that cannot be depended on for unconditional support.

Allegedly, everybody in this world is connected to everybody else by six or even fewer steps of separation. Complete strangers are linked by a small number of mutual acquaintances, and these links, enabled through ever better means of communication and transport, make the world appear a smaller place. The small-world network, a term made popular by Stanley Milgram's social experiments in the 1960s (Travers and Milgram 1969), is characterised by short path lengths. Most interaction takes place at the local scale, but a few, crucial long-distance connections relate to the wider world. This means that only a few steps are necessary between distant areas for information to flow quickly. So although the global network is large in terms of numbers, each person in it is linked only to a few; the network is decentralised and highly clustered (Watts 1999a: 495–496).

A small-world network emerges from connecting several small local networks in a specific way. In highly connected clusters ('isolated caves' Watts 1999b: 103), all members are connected internally, but not at all externally. Communication takes place only at a local scale. If one internal link of the network is replaced by an external link, however, the local will still be dominant, but information can flow. If there are many such links, information flows slowly because there are many steps from one end of the network to the other. Information can become distorted by going through many nodes (the 'Chinese whispers' effect). By adding only a few random long-distance links, far fewer steps are necessary

between opposite ends of the network and the distance between nodes becomes short. This allows information to flow quickly and preserves the content, as little distortion of information occurs. A local, yet global, small-world network emerges (Fig. 2.2, Watts 1999a). Small-world networks are neither completely ordered nor completely random; they typically show a high clustering coefficient with many strong, interconnected clusters with a high degree of redundancy. This high degree of redundancy makes most parts of the network highly resilient. The strongly interconnected local clusters are connected by only few links, which are random to a certain degree, but highly significant. Small-world networks do not have a typical size and occur on many different scales.

The princely grave of Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a), illustrates local and global links in an early Iron Age small-world network. Although most of the grave goods are local – some even produced on the spot – the outside world is cited by including exotica such as the drinking horns, couch and the cauldron. The cauldron is a particularly interesting piece of hybrid material culture, as two of the attached lions are (western) Greek like the cauldron (Bieg 2002), but one lion has been replaced by a local imitation, presumably after it was lost. Cultural citations (Helms 1988) such as these associate elites with long-distance travel through which foreign goods and esoteric knowledge are acquired for political advantage and to gain prestige. They illustrate the distant links that tie the Hallstatt communities to the wider world.

Innovation as a cultural process can be triggered either by internal inventions and internal social changes or by the integration of foreign cultural elements. New ideas are most often products of a network rather than appearing ‘fully formed and articulated from a single source’ (Conway and Steward 2009: 93). In either case, innovation crucially relies on the context into which information flows. Some ideas take off immediately, whereas others never go beyond the experimental stage and are given up before they can catch on: the right conditions and a network of links with sufficiently strong connectivity need to be in place for inventions to become embedded as innovative technologies. An ‘innovation network’ is characterised by an open network configuration, the presence of bridges and boundary-spanning activity, a diversity of internal and external actors and

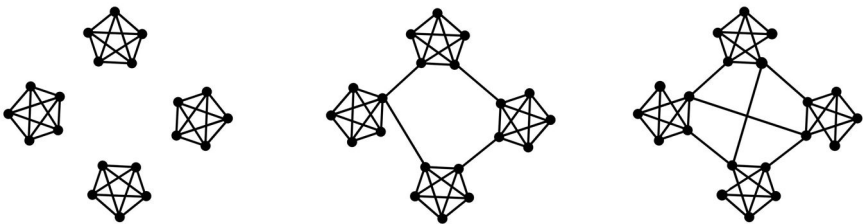


Figure 2.2 Connecting cavemen: isolated cavemen, connected cavemen, some local connections replaced by global connections (small-world network) (after Watts 1999b: 103, 108)

informal, personal relationships supplementing more formal links (Conway and Steward 2009: 94). It helps if innovation is seen as an advantage; corresponds to norms, experiences and needs of potential adopters; and is relatively easy to notice, understand and test (Hofmann and Patzke 2012: 87). Further, the social statuses of innovators and early adopters are crucial in overcoming potential reluctance to accept change and adopt innovations. Over time, early adopters can be distinguished from late adopters, as well as laggards in the process (Rogers 1958). Absolute numbers of network participants may play a role in the embedding of new information, but the adoption of new ideas and technologies involves active agents and elements of decision making: progressive or conservative thinking may help or hinder innovation.

Knowledge changes as it becomes transmitted. Some of this change includes small, unintentional copy errors and is almost natural; in fact, it has been likened to the process of biological evolution, in which modification of genes and their selection are crucial processes (for example, Eerkens and Lipo 2005, Eerkens and Lipo 2007, Shennan 2002). That cultural traits are, in fact, subject to similar selective pressure as genes is doubtful, as it is not the cultural traits that replicate, but they become replicated through cultural processes. Knowledge and technologies do, however, not only change at random, but also through various processes of directed change. This includes technological improvements or adaptation to local circumstances, environments and materials. It has been noted that cross-craft interaction, the transmission of a technology and style usually used for one material to another (Brysbaert 2007), is an important source of innovation.

As we have seen, the more steps between the nodes, the more likely it is that information becomes lost, distorted or otherwise changed. In the context of this study, it is particularly important to understand the ‘Chinese whispers’ effect when analysing how early Iron Age motifs change as they travel over distance and across different materials. Treating all elements of a human image as units of information, a comparison between the images of a charioteer in two different materials reveals changes in the image, as well as in the essence of the information that is to be transmitted. The frieze on the *situla* of Kuffern, a bronze vessel found in an early La Tène grave in Austria (Karner 1891, Lucke and Frey 1962, Nebehay 1993), shows a charioteer with reins in one hand, while he startles the horses with a stick and looks back over his shoulder. The image, carried out in repoussé and chasing technique, depicts the driver in quite some detail. The same motif was found on a large ceramic vessel with conical neck from Rabensburg, Austria (Felgenhauer 1962), but this time made of lines of single, soft impressions. This technique sets the resolution to a minimum and forces a focus on the units of information that absolutely have to be transmitted. The non-linear perspective chosen by the potter for horses and chariot allowed them to be depicted simultaneously from both sides and could therefore clearly state that there are two horses involved, but also that the type of wagon is a chariot rather than a four-wheeled wagon (a significant difference at the time). Other details concentrate on communicating the charioteer’s identity, which is difficult for an image that is barely a stick figure; nevertheless, it is clear that the person is depicted as male, by

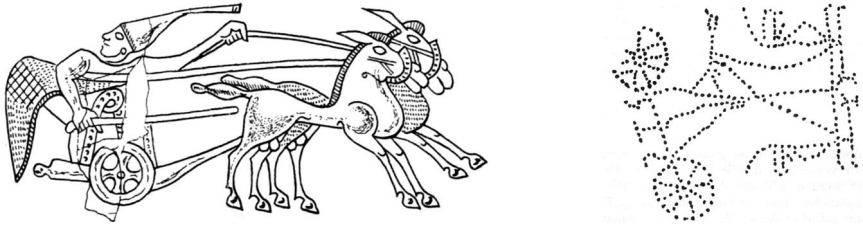


Figure 2.3 Charioteers on the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria, and a ceramic vessel from Rabensburg, Austria (after Felgenhauer 1962: 94, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75)

two carefully placed dots just at the right spot and wearing the long, pointed cap typical of chariot drivers (Rebay-Salisbury 2012b).

In this example, the material of the object, the technique of decoration and the perspective are altered as the image crosses the Alps, and yet the essence of the image which addresses the depicted person's identity is retained. Communicating the social identity of the depicted person and clarifying his social categorisation are the important issues as information travelled through trans-Alpine networks.

2.3 Identity and/as communication

'The self arises in social interaction with others' (Mead 1934), moulded and changed through social feedback. If we take identities as the flow of information between people, we can begin to understand how network dynamics makes a difference to the way identities are understood. Identity is bound up in a constant feedback loop, in which information is sent, received, evaluated and responded to. This information is then sent back and is crucial to the evaluation, re-assessment and further construction of the self. Positive feedback may contribute to a sense of self-worthiness and further affirm identity, especially within the in-group. Negative feedback, on the other hand, may cause insecurity, an attempt to change the signals or, conversely, an affirmation of boundaries.

The means of communication – or elements of information – are bound up in the way identities are constructed and use non-verbal clues such as dress and material culture, gestures and postures, as well as *habitus* and practices. Other signals like sex and skin colour are biologically based, but can be culturally altered, if not completely deleted. Verbal means of communicating identity remain, of course, inaccessible to prehistoric archaeologists, but this does not, for our purposes here, have to be a disadvantage. In many social encounters, 'the medium is the message' (McLuhan 1964) – not the content of the message, which we tend to foreground, but the process in which it is delivered, and subtly changes a society's norms and values. The form the medium takes is embedded in the message and does, in fact, influence how the message is perceived and received. This can be directly applied to human communication; not only the words, but the whole appearance of the person conversing is the message.

Messages do not necessarily reach the recipient as they have been intended. True understanding between partners in communication is only possible if the language is exactly the same, which does not even happen within families or between closest acquaintances. Even slight variations result in distortion of the message and in changes of information. The more recipients or links a message has to go through, the more distorted it may become – the classic ‘Chinese whispers effect’ occurs. The flow of information can become blocked for a variety of reasons, including cultural boundaries that are difficult to penetrate and impermeable for some sectors of society. Women, for instance, may have less opportunity to travel outside their home community in patriarchal societies; peasants have responsibility towards their land and rarely the means for travels further afield. It is thus often the elite whose members have the connections reaching the furthest; communication over cultural boundaries, however, is more difficult, as there are fewer strong links with much redundancy.

Thus far, we have assumed a symmetric relationship between nodes in a network, but information flow can be a directed process. Signals of identity can be sent out to and received by many people. High-status individuals, for instance, may be known by a large number of people, without the person necessarily knowing all the ‘commoners’. The elements of identity they signal in terms of fashion and elite behaviour, for example, may find a large number of followers and copiers, without much flowing back, except, perhaps, affirmation justifying their position.

Human representations take part in this network of communicating identities. As non-human actors, they visualise and mediate identity. They play a crucial part in transmitting ideas about identity and shaping social expectations. Art as sign language and in communication will be further discussed in Section 5.2.

3 The Iron Age setting

The aim of this chapter to characterise the early Iron Age in central Europe, clarifying place and time, but most importantly, what life was like. A large number of detailed specialist studies about the Hallstatt culture exist in all areas of this study, but syntheses that are both super-regional and sufficiently detailed are few and far between. There is little comprehensive literature in English on the late Bronze and early Iron Age in central Europe beyond a very superficial level, although the region is often included in large-scale overviews (e.g. Collis 1984, Kristiansen 1998). One ends up with the impression that the early Iron Age is either a uniform Hallstatt block or, alternatively, a conglomerate of groups without much in common. Spread over a rather complicated modern political setting of nation and language borders, the divide into western and eastern Europe during the Cold War particularly influenced the way in which the Hallstatt culture was studied; namely in a fragmented, regionally focussed way along modern nation boundaries.

For the purpose of this study, which focuses on networks within and beyond the Hallstatt area, a strict definition of the ever-changing boundaries of cultural groups is neither necessary nor desirable. In describing similarities and differences between regions, the necessary background for the study is explained. The geographical entity one inhabits and the relations to immediate neighbours are, of course, building blocks of identity and, as such, important to the early Iron Age people.

This study is chronologically set before one can truly speak of the ‘Celts’ in the region, although, of course, the Hallstatt culture is one of the foundations of Celtic culture and encompasses the region in which it most likely emerged. Nevertheless, I would like to keep the ethnic label where it belongs, namely in the chronological vicinity of the beginning of our era and the century leading up to it. ‘Celtic art’, however, describes a phenomenon emerging in the early La Tène period, in some areas already in the fifth century BC. Celtic art embraces components of Hallstatt, as well as Etruscan and Scythian art, and combines geometric as well as figurative elements, such as plant, animal and body parts, into complex patterns with characteristic curvilinear forms (Jacobsthal 1944, Megaw and Megaw 2001). Celtic art is the cut-off point for this study, as human representations are quite a different matter and occur much more frequently after the Hallstatt period. Society and art underwent dramatic changes that cannot be addressed in the scope of this

study. On the other hand, there are forms of Hallstatt art that continue well beyond the early Iron Age into the La Tène period: the *situlae* are a prominent example of this. One of the latest objects of this kind is the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: 75, Nebelhay 1993), dating to the fifth century BC but most likely deposited around 400 BC in a La Tène-period weapon grave (Urban 1989: 199). Particularly the Alpine sanctuaries include depositions of objects spanning centuries within the first millennium BC, but remain stylistically close to Hallstatt art; not only are they difficult to date as individual objects, but the exact date is not that relevant – they testify to a longer-lived cultural identity than the strict chronological brackets archaeologists like to employ.

3.1 Unity and diversity: the regions

The Hallstatt area as a whole encompasses a territory spread over parts of the modern nations of France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia and Italy, an area of temperate climate and diverse landscapes ranging from fertile, rolling lowlands to Alpine highlands. Developing from the proceeding Urnfield culture, the introduction of iron and iron technology (Cech and Rehren 2014, Pleiner 2000) is a turning point, even if iron, at that stage, was used selectively and did not penetrate all aspects of life in the same way as in the La Tène period. Iron was used from around 800 BC in central Europe, but its use is not exclusive to the Hallstatt area.

The unity of the Hallstatt area was first recognised by Hans Hildebrand at the Seventh International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology in Stockholm in 1874 (Weiss 1999: 9). It was described in terms of an art style and certain elements of material culture such as the conical-necked vessel, red-and-black painted pottery, the iron sword, bronze vessels and *fibula* types. The strong connection between the Hallstatt world and the Mediterranean, in particular Italy, was noted early on and formed the foundation of the first chronological framework developed by Moriz Hoernes (1885). People of early Iron Age central Europe looked to the Near East for lifestyle inspirations; the drinking and dining culture, including material paraphernalia, a taste for exotic luxury goods and the visual culture is characterised by an eager reception of outside influences (Hansen 2011: 293). The similarities in the style of material culture that is used to define the Hallstatt culture, can, however, be found outside the areas that are conventionally understood as Hallstatt (Kossack 1980: 35). It is the entirety of the Hallstatt lifestyle and its intermediate role between the Mediterranean world and the European periphery that characterises the culture and defines its extent.

Social criteria, namely a stratified society with a ruling elite (Gebhard 1993: 4), were later added as a defining characteristic of the Hallstatt culture. Social stratification is most visible in the building of burial mounds and an increase in settlement hierarchies. Burial mounds, however, are common in many prehistoric periods and a defining characteristic of the middle Bronze Age Tumulus culture. In the late Bronze Age, the practice of mound building continued in some areas. Particularly between Burgundy and the French Jura, central Hessen and north

Bavaria, ninth century BC burial mounds could reach considerable dimensions with a diameter of up to 50 m. From about 800 BC, the practice of mound building spread to the west, north and east and became characteristic of the Hallstatt culture (Pare 2003).

Traditionally, the Hallstatt culture has been divided into a western and an eastern 'circle', after Otto Tischler noted a distinction between western graves with swords and eastern graves without swords but showing stronger Italian influences (Tischler 1881). The divide was geographically fixed at the rivers Enns, Moldova and Elbe by Georg Kossack (1959). A study by Nils Müller-Scheeßel (2000), who evaluated similarities and differences between the regions of the Hallstatt culture in the light of research history, found some good arguments for cultural coherence in the west, but little that unites the east: the East Hallstatt area is a conglomerate of different regional groups that have little in common, except that they have been treated historically as one entity.

Despite numerous well-founded critiques, the notion of the cultural area as an archaeological concept has not died out (Roberts and Vander Linden 2011). Cultural areas have been persistent for three reasons: first, because they provide a convenient shorthand for time and place in archaeological discourse; second, because they reflect the research traditions of the entities described; and third, because at some times and particular places, material culture and traces of practices do indeed correlate with some form of regional identity. Unfortunately, it is often not easy to distinguish the degree to which the latter two facts have shaped the cultural concepts still widely used in continental literature. In the following brief summary I take a generous (and thus superficial) approach to describing the boundaries and regions of the Hallstatt area and beyond for the purpose of giving the reader a broad orientation (Fig. 3.1); it should not continue debates on the exact boundaries, names and cultural groups in the area. Cultures are dynamic and ever changing; a more or less static description must therefore always be found wanting.

3.1.1 The north

The northern boundary of the Hallstatt area is normally defined by the Mittelgebirge (Hansen 2011: 291), a belt of low mountain ranges between the northern lowland and the Bavarian Alpine foreland, extending over the Czech border into the Bohemian Massif. Beyond the study area, towards the northwest, the late Bronze Age Laufeld group develops into the Hunsrück-Eifel culture, which occupies the middle Rhine region between the end of the seventh century and the mid-third century BC (Haffner 1976, Hornung 2008, Schneider 2012). The Hunsrück-Eifel culture is relevant for the Hallstatt–La Tène transition at around 500 BC, as a high number of wagon graves and 'Celtic art' objects are known from this area. Farther east, the Thuringia culture (Claus 1943, Heynowski 1992) continues between the rivers Weser and Elbe. Between this group, the West Hallstatt culture and the Lusatian culture in the east of the Czech Republic, the Bylany culture (Koutecký 1968) serves somewhat as a buffer in the northwestern Czech Republic.

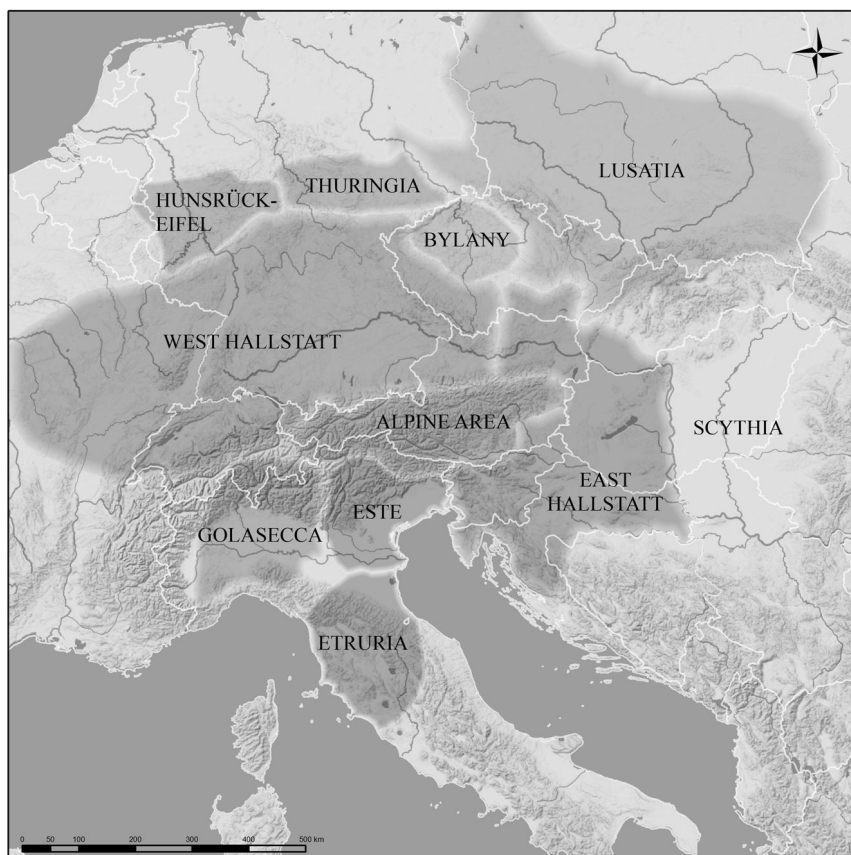


Figure 3.1 Hallstatt groups and regions in relation to modern nation boundaries

A larger cultural complex, the Lusatian culture, continues farther east beyond the study area to the River Vistula: it occupies some of eastern Germany and most of Poland from the North Sea and the eastern part of the Czech Republic (Gedl 1975, Rücker 2007). The Lusatian culture is the direct northern neighbour of the East Hallstatt area. The late Bronze Age and early Iron Age are subsumed under one cultural bracket between circa 1300 and 500 BC, as there is no break in the cultural development in the area. Arable agriculture formed the basis of subsistence; settlements include both open villages and fortified sites, of which Biskupin in Poland (Rajewski 1959) and Berlin-Buchau (Kimmig 1992) in Germany are probably the most famous. Cremation burials remained the norm throughout the whole period, although changes in the specific treatments of the bodies can be observed over time. The cemeteries of Cottbus-Alvensleben and Niederkaina, Germany (Coblentz and Nebelsick 1997, Gramsch 2010, Kaiser and Puttkammer 2007), recently provided detailed insights into the treatment of bodies and

changing funerary practices. Contacts between the Lusatian and Hallstatt areas, particular the northeast, can be seen in both the funerary practices and in art. Human images sketched on pottery at a number of Polish sites are closely related in style and choice of motifs. Further, the Pomeranian face urns are a striking feature that developed in the Lusatian area and become most common in northern Poland between the seventh and second centuries BC. As well as housing the cremated remains, they embody the cremated individual quite literally. Eyes and noses make the face recognisable, but some are also adorned with bronze earrings or necklaces (Kneisel 2012, La Baume 1963).

3.1.2 The west

The West Hallstatt area extends from France in the west to the Bohemian-Moravian highlands in the east and from the Mittelgebirge in the north to the Alps in the south. It is most often geographically defined by the extent of the ‘princely seats’ (*Fürstensitze*) and ‘princely burials’ (*Fürstengräber*): rich, elaborate inhumation graves in burial mounds with southern imported goods, gold jewellery, wagons and horse gear (for a debate on Wolfgang Kimmig’s terminology, see Biel 2007, Müller-Scheeßel 2006, Schweizer 2006). Swords are typical for the early, daggers for the late Hallstatt period.

Most generously, the western borders of the West Hallstatt area are set at the sources of the Seine in Burgundy or the upper Loire River (Megaw and Megaw 2001, Müller-Scheeßel 2000: 26). Vix and the Mont Lassois in France (Joffroy 1979, Rolley 2003) are perhaps the best known sites in the region. The discovery of a princely tomb at Lavau in France’s Champagne region in 2015 promises exciting insights in the near future (Institut de recherches archéologiques préventives 2015). The area west of the Rhine, including the Palatinate, Saarland, north-eastern Switzerland and eastern France, is a crucial area for the development of many Hallstatt characteristics, as in that region, inhumation burials with swords and under mounds already appear in the late Bronze Age (Pare 2003, Wamser 1975).

The north–south axes of the rivers Elbe, Moldava and Enns are used to divide the western from the eastern Hallstatt areas (Kossack 1959), although, of course, this does not reflect the archaeological record accurately. Most regional syntheses follow modern political entities, such as southwest Germany (Baden-Württemberg). Internal divisions of the West Hallstatt area are most often described in terms of geographical entities such as river valleys and basins (for example, the Altmühl Valley in Bavaria). Regions with high population densities and large numbers of graves cluster in geographically favourable areas, and unsurprisingly, the regions follow slightly different cultural trajectories over time.

The northwest Alpine area can be divided into northern and southern Württemberg groups – the Forest of Hagenau group, the Middle Rhine group and the Saar-Palatinate group – as well as Burgundy and the Swiss Plateau (Parzinger 1988: 53). The northern Württemberg group encompasses the areas of the upper Neckar River and the River Enz; in southern Baden-Württemberg regional entities include

Breisgau, Hegau, Black Forest and the middle and eastern Alb. Prominent sites in the area include the Magdalenenberg near Villingen (Spindler 1976a) at the slopes of the Black Forest, the Heuneburg settlement on the Danube (Fernández-Götz and Krausse 2012) and the burial mounds in its surroundings such as the Speckhau group that includes the Hohmichele (Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2001, Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2003, Kurz and Schiek 2002) and the Bettelbühl group (Krausse and Ebinger-Rist 2011). The cemetery of Mauenheim (Aufdermauer 1963) in Hegau is also well known. Alb-Hegau ceramics (Keller 1939) appear in the early Iron Age (eighth and seventh century) in this area; they are handmade specifically for funerary use and decorated with polychrome, stamped and cut geometric patterns of high complexity. The ceramic forms are varied and creative, including impressively large stepped plates.

The Hagenau group, with the highest numbers of sites between the Rheine, Sauer and Zorn, include groups of burial mounds such as Maegstub and Weitbruch (Sangmeister 1969). Sites of the Middle Rheine group are concentrated in the Upper Rhine Plain, which includes smaller regional entities such as the Wetterau, Rheingau, Reinhessen, Ried and the Neckar-Rheine confluence (Parzinger 1988: 67). The Saar-Palatinate group lies west of the Middle Rheine group and north of the Hagenau group; its northern neighbours are the Hunsrück-Eifel culture. Sites cluster south of the River Nahe in the North Palatine uplands and the Palatinate Forest (Parzinger 1988: 70).

Bavarian groups continue farther south, with Schirndorf (Hughes 1999, Hughes 2001, Müller-Scheeßel 2009b, Stroh 1979, Stroh 1988, Stroh 2000a, Stroh 2000b) one of the best-known and best-published cemeteries in the region. The valley of the River Altmühl also includes several important cemeteries such as Riedenburg-Untereggersberg (Nikulka 1998) and Dietfurt-Tankstelle (Augstein 2015).

The Inn-Salzach region (Stöllner 1996–2002) provides a crucial link between the northwest and southeast Hallstatt areas. Important sites include Hallstatt (Hodson 1990, Kern et al. 2009, Kromer 1959b), the eponymous site for the early Iron Age, and the Dürrenberg near Hallein (Lobisser 2005, Moser 2010, Moser, Tiefengraber and Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2012, Stöllner 1999, Stöllner 2002, Tiefengraber and Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2012, Tiefengraber and Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2014, Tiefengraber and Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2015), a late Hallstatt/early La Tène centre. Both sites have to be understood as reflecting Alpine communities with an economy based on salt mining (and perhaps meat processing) as well as trade, which enabled them to acquire considerable wealth. Hallstatt particularly is sometimes understood as the intersection between the western and eastern Hallstatt areas, with graves of locals and foreigners from outside the Alpine area (for example, Dörner 2002, Egg 1978).

The inner Alpine region in Tyrol, Salzburg, Upper Austria, Styria and Carinthia remains significant in the early Iron Age, not only as a rich source of raw materials, but also in terms of connecting trade over the Alps. Further, Alpine pastures were used for transhumance farming since at least the late Bronze Age (Cerwinka and Mandl 1998). Cremation graves, often with stone cists, prevail in the inner Alps, with flat cemeteries such as Welzelach or Bischofshofen (Lippert 1972,

Lippert and Stadler 2009). Natural elevations and rock outcrops are frequently utilised as locations for burial mound constructions in the Alpine environment.

3.1.3 The east

The eastern Hallstatt provinces are much less culturally coherent than those of the west; they are a cluster of groups that differ in many aspects, including the subsistence base, use of material culture and burial practices (Müller-Scheeßel 2000). In general, tradition seems to play a greater role in the east. The eastern areas are characterised by a stronger continuity of Urnfield practices, including cremation, the role of pottery in graves and the style of material culture. The primary weaponry includes lances and axes rather than swords and daggers, and single sets of horse gear suggest that riding horses was at least as important as using horses to draw a wagon. Human images and plastic decoration of ceramics are more prevalent. The East Hallstatt area has its centre in the eastern Alps, but extends to lowland regions of Lower Austria, Burgenland, Styria, Carinthia, southern Slovakia, western Hungary, Slovenia and Croatia (Weiss 1999: 11).

Within these boundaries, the northeast Alpine group extends over parts of eastern Austria, Moravia, Slovakia and western Hungary. Although situated in fertile farmland, little access to raw materials explains that metal finds in the area are rare; this is, however, over-compensated for by the amount and quality of pottery found in graves, which include a range of peculiar forms. The burial practices are deeply rooted in the Urnfield culture, and cremation is predominant throughout the early Iron Age. Despite these traditions, the area is not cut off from the broader Hallstatt trends: grave structures become more and more elaborate until around 600 BC, when monumental burial mounds begin to be built. Large burial mounds with *dromoi* as entrances are found as far north as Morašice, Kr. Znojmo (Golec 2004), an area between the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands and the rivers Thaya and Morava that is sometimes called the Horákov group (Podborský 1974). Only separated by modern state boundaries, but with no real cultural breaks, the Kalenderberg group (Rebay 2006: 258–261) continues farther south into eastern Austria, southern Slovakia and western Hungary around Sopron. Western Hungarian Hallstatt groups extend to the River Danube and include a northeastern group in the Danube Bend, a group around Lake Balaton and the basin of the River Raab, and a south Pannonian group (Patek 1993).

Looking at the eastern boundary of the Hallstatt area, which can be drawn along the rivers Váh in Slovakia and the Danube stretching north–south along the great Hungarian plain, we find groups of Scythian character: the Upper Tisza group, the Alföld group and the Transylvanian group (Kromer 1986, Teržan 1998). Most importantly, these groups have to be understood in terms of their lifestyle. The landscapes of the Hungarian plain with its swamps and steppes afford subsistence practices such as herding and animal breeding, although there is also evidence for agriculture. A high emphasis on horse breeding and fighting on horseback is typical for groups living a nomadic or transient lifestyle, which has contributed to the image of these ‘Thraco-Cimmerian’, ‘Pre-Scythian’ and ‘Scythian’ groups as

warlike raiders and invaders from the east (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: 483–493). Although eastern material culture, in particular horse gear and certain items of weaponry, start to make their impact in the eighth century BC and might even contribute to the social change and the emergence of elites apparent at the Bronze/Iron Age transition, eastern influence becomes stronger and perhaps even devastating to the northeastern Hallstatt groups from around 600 BC.

The three adjacent groups differ in terms of their burial rituals. The Upper Tisza group cremated their dead. A typical set of weapons includes an axe plus one or two spearheads, sometimes a dagger and a bow and arrow as well as horse gear. The Alföld group used both cremation and inhumation in their burial rites and included a bow and arrows, sometimes an axe and one or two lances. Horse burials are common, as well as the deposition of horse gear in graves. The famous cemetery of Szentes-Vekerzug included fourteen horse burials amongst the 151 graves (Kemenczei 2003). The Transylvanian group inhumes their dead. *Akinakes* – a particular form of dagger – are the primary piece of warrior equipment, along with the bow and arrow; sometimes axes and horse gear are included in the graves as well.

Contacts between the Hallstatt area and groups farther east were perhaps not always the most peaceful. Earlier research has imagined two waves of large-scale invasion triggering major social changes in the eighth and sixth centuries BC: the ‘Thraco-Cimmerian’ and ‘Scythian’ invasions (Kromer 1986), but it is perhaps more fruitful to picture small-scale warfare and raids as well as political alliances with winners and losers. Smolenice-Molpír, Slovakia, for example, (Dušek and Dušek 1984) was almost certainly amongst the settlements that were destroyed by Scythian warriors around 600 BC and discontinued; the cemetery of Chotín (Dušek 1966), with definite Scythian traits, was founded around that time in the close vicinity. Many other settlements in the northeast were discontinued at the time, and some even speak of a collapse of the East Hallstatt culture (Teržan 1998). Other areas, such as Carniola, Slovenia, might have profited indirectly from contacts to the east; here, too, some destruction layers are found in the settlements, but they continued afterwards, and Scythian material culture and practices became more readily absorbed.

The southeast Alpine group extends over Austria, Slovenia and parts of Croatia and includes the river valleys of the Sava, Mura and Rába. The landscape is fragmented by marked valleys, but provides rich raw materials, including copper, iron and lead ores. The Austrian part includes sites like Strettweg (Egg 1996a) and Kleinklein (Egg and Kramer 2005, Egg and Kramer 2013) in Styria and Frög (Tomedi 2002) in Carinthia, regional centres which are sometimes treated as distinct groups. The Styria (Štajerska) and Carinthia (Koroška) groups extend over Austria and Slovenia (Gleirscher 2005b, Teržan 1990). The Sv. Lucija (Santa Lucia) group can be found in the upper Soča River area and, in the Julian Alps, are located the Ljubljana group and the Notranjska group in inner Carniola (Gabrovec 1999: 150). They differ in terms of their settlement patterns, but both bury their dead in flat cremation cemeteries with scattered cremations marked by

stone slabs, but with standardised sets of pottery and male and few female dress elements; weapons are not normally included in male graves (de Marinis and Teržan in prep).

The Dolenjska (Lower Carniola) group is spread over southeast Slovenia, a prosperous, hilly area with a large number of fortified central places, for example, Stična (Gabrovec 1994). The group differs from others in burial rite: unlike most of the eastern Hallstatt area, inhumation is dominant, and a large number of graves are arranged within a single burial mound. These burial mounds most likely represent families or clans and are found in groups, for instance, at Stična (Gabrovec et al. 2006), Magdalenska gora (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004) or Novo Mesto (Knez 1986, Knez 1993a, Knez 1993b, Križ 1997a, Križ 1997b, Križ 2000, Križ 2006). The graves are well equipped with iron objects, glass jewellery and bronze; the eastern core of Situla Art is also located in this area (Kromer 1962: Verbreitungskarte). An emphasis on horse breeding, training and trading, a popular motif in Situla Art, connects Lower Carniola to the Veneto and emphasises the role of trade around the northern Adriatic.

Sites like Kaptol (Potrebica 2012, Vinski-Gasparini 1987) and Jalžabet (Šimek 1998), Croatia, demonstrate that the Hallstatt area extends into Slavonia, the Sava–Drava interfluvies up to their confluence with the Danube (de Marinis and Teržan in prep). The prevailing mode of burial is cremation graves under tumuli, sometimes of more than one individual, which can form burial landscapes of several hundred mounds. Settlement centres look inconspicuous in comparison to the wealth expressed in some monumental graves.

3.1.4 The south

A variety of Alpine communities between Lake Maggiore and Lake Como, the lower Inn Valley and Lake Constance are referred to as *Raeti* in ancient sources (Metzger and Gleirscher 1992), and in the archaeological literature as the Laugen-Melaun (Luco, Meluno) and Fritzens-Sanzeno cultures, for the early and late Iron Age, respectively. Epigraphic sources indicate that their language was most closely linked to Etruscan. Cremation graves are common, but not particularly conspicuous. Proto-urban centres are lacking, but cremation sanctuaries (*Brandopferplätze*) are an interesting feature of the inner Alpine landscape with large deposits of cremated animal bone, pottery fragments and occasional bronze finds; votives in the form of human images became more common during the course of the Iron Age. Old sheet bronze objects like belts or *situlae* were sometimes recycled for anthropomorphic cut-outs (for example, Gleirscher, Nothdurfter and Schubert 2002, Steiner 2010).

The Camonica Valley north of Lake Iseo in eastern Lombardy is famous for its rock art (Anati 1994, Bevan 2006). The art spans from the Copper Age to the modern era, and is notoriously hard to date (Pause 1997); stylistic similarities and some depicted artefacts indicate, however, that some of the images date to the Iron Age. The human images are most often scratched or stippled into the rock surface

and are relatively small (rarely exceeding 15 cm). It is unclear if the inhabitants of the valley, the *Camuni*, belonged to the *Raeti* or were a distinct ethnic and language group (de Marinis and Teržan in prep).

Towards the south, at the southern edge of the Alps, Etruscan influences are mediated via two important cultural regions, which are at times understood as distinct cultural areas and sometimes subsumed in the Hallstatt world. The western area, encompassing western Lombardy, eastern Piedmont, Ticino and the Mesolcina valley, is home to the Golasecca culture (de Marinis and Teržan in prep; Rapi 2012), stretching from the Alpine watershed in the north and along the Po River in the south. The Mesolcina valley is significant as a connection to the north, allowing access to the Rhine river valley via the San Bernardino Pass (Pauli 1971). The Golasecca culture is also known under the ethnic name of the Lepontii; early inscriptions indicate that Lepontic was a Celtic language. Important centres were Castelletto Ticino, Sesto Calende and Golasecca in the southern Lake Maggiore area and Como at the southwest of Lake Como. In this area, cremation was prevalent during the early Iron Age. The dead were cremated and deposited in simple urn graves, which were sometimes covered or lined with stones. Children and adolescents were excluded from the regular burial rite, and over time, from the middle of the eighth century BC, the simple funerary equipment gave way to more elaborate characterisation of the dead. Wagons, weapons (including defensive armour), and metal vessels are now found in the graves, for instance, at Sesto Calende (de Marinis 1975, de Marinis 2009, Ghislanzoni 1944) and Como-Ca' Morta (Bertolone 1957, Kossack 1957). Although Etruscan influences were noticeable through imports and the introduction of the potter's wheel before the fifth century BC, they intensified markedly at this time. The Como centre expanded, perhaps at the expense of that at Lake Maggiore, until the Gallic invasion of 388 BC, which led to the collapse of Padanian Etruria (de Marinis and Teržan in prep).

The eastern area, the Veneto and Friuli Venezia Giulia, home of the Este culture, or ethnically, the Veneti (Bianchin Citton, Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini 1998, Capuis 1993, Chieco Bianchi 1988, Fogolari and Prosdocimi 1988, Gamba 2013), also extends from the Alps over a hill zone to the lower plain of the River Po, but includes coastal territory. This area has traditionally been a strong trading hub. Amongst the best-known sites are Padua (Fogolari and Chieco Bianchi 1976, Ruta Serafini 1990) and Este (Ruta Serafini 2002), settlements that grew into proto-urban centres during the eighth century BC. The settlements were surrounded by several distinct cemeteries, probably representing households or families, including primarily cremation cemeteries with a small proportion of inhumations. Complex burial patterns included graves with the burials of multiple people (Perego 2014). Status differentiation in the funerary domain became increasingly common, and burials of couples appeared (de Marinis and Teržan in prep); in contrast to the Golasecca area, children and adolescents are included in the cemeteries. Culturally characteristic is an emphasis on horses and horse breeding (for example, Azzaroli 1980, Kos 2008), which connects the area to Slovenia. Also important are the sanctuaries, which are dedicated to distinct gods and goddesses and were often used for centuries until Roman times. Around Este, for

example, four sanctuaries are known. They include numerous votives, including miniature ceramic vessels and bronze figurines of men and women (Ruta Serafini 2002). The Veneto is one of the two core areas in which figurative *situlae* are found, the other being the southeast Hallstatt area, in today's Slovenia (cf. Kromer 1962: Verbreitungskarte), even if some important sites like Bologna are located even further south. It therefore represents the home of a crucial body of human images.

The Po River plain includes highly relevant areas for the transmission of ideas and technologies. The Etruscans expanded into the area known as Padanian Etruria from the ninth century BC and made cities like Felsina (Bologna), Marzabotto, Verucchio and Spina into allies. From 540 BC onwards, Etruscan control of the area between the mountain passes to the Alps to the Gulf of Venice intensified and the Etruscan trade network flourished (Heurogon 1993: 20). The Gallic invasion of 388 BC brought an end to this development, and is associated with the La Tène culture in northern Italy; by the second century BC, after a series of wars, the area became part of the Roman Empire (de Marinis and Teržan in prep). The Etruscans proper are beyond the scope of this study; there are, however, a number of excellent studies of aspects of the Etruscan body (for example, Amann 2000, Bonfante 2003a, Stoddart 2009).

3.2 Chronology and temporality

As much as it is a regional term, Hallstatt is, of course, a chronological term. Most of central Europe, in particular southern Germany, follows the chronological scheme developed by Paul Reinecke (for an in-depth discussion, see Gerloff 2007, Reinecke 1965). He divided the Bronze Age and early Iron Age in four alphabetically labelled phases each: *Bronzezeit* A to D and *Hallstattzeit* A to D. Cemeteries of the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age in central Europe often contained bronze and iron objects, making it difficult to separate the Bronze and Iron Ages sharply (Sørensen and Rebay 2008a). What might be confusing is that today, the late Bronze Age encompasses Bz D as well as Ha A and B in Reinecke's system (*frühe Hallstattzeit* and *zweite Hallstattstufe*), whereas Hallstatt C and D make up the early Iron Age. Until today, the late Bronze Age is most often referred to as the Urnfield period (*Urnenfelderzeit*), and the early Iron Age as the Hallstatt period (*Hallstattzeit*) in the German literature, but the meaning of the term *Hallstattzeit* today has largely shifted to encompass only the early Iron Age.

Joseph Déchelette, who developed the chronological system followed in France (Déchelette 1913, Déchelette 1914), placed less emphasis on the continuity from the late Bronze Age to the early Iron Age. The First Iron Age ('Premier âge du Fer') in the French terminology corresponds to the Hallstatt period, and the Second Iron Age ('Deuxième âge du Fer') to the La Tène period.

Paul Reinecke suggested absolute dates on the basis of cross-dating and came to the conclusion that Ha A lasted from about 1200 to 1000 BC, and Ha B from 1000 to 850/800 BC (Gerloff 2007: 119). A further sub-division of the late Bronze Age into Ha A1, Ha A2, Ha B1, B2, B3 was undertaken by Hermann Müller-Karpe

(Müller-Karpe 1959), who also subsumed Bz D into the *Urnenfelderzeit* (Urn-field period, late Bronze Age). Suggesting 100 years for each of his sub-phases, he extended Ha B to three centuries, and thus let the Iron Age (Ha C) begin at around 700 BC. This late start of the Iron Age was conventionally used in most of the scholarly literature of the second half of the twentieth century; Ha B2/B3 was later commonly subsumed in one phase spanning from 900 to 700 BC (Gerloff 2007: 151).

Absolute dating via scientific methods is problematic in the early Iron Age, as dates between 800 and 400 BC fall in a flat spot of the C-14 calibration curve and cannot be dated more accurately. Dendrochronology brought precise dating for several archaeological complexes, but it is, of course, restricted to sites with sufficient wood preservation. To complicate matters further, dendrochronological dates from before about 500 BC had to be pushed back by 71 years after the German oak tree-ring chronology was corrected in the 1980s (Friedrich 1996); earlier publications have to be treated with caution. Incorporating dates derived from the dendrochronology of Swiss lake sites and C-14 dates, Lothar Sperber (1987) dated the beginning of the late Bronze Age (SB 1a or Bz D1) to 1365 BC, and the end of the late Bronze Age (SB IIIb or Ha B3) and therefore the beginning of the early Iron Age to 740 BC. An even earlier date for the beginning of the Hallstatt period is supported by the early Hallstatt C burial at Wehringen-Hexenbergle, Burial Mound 8. The wooden chamber and a wagon were made of wood cut between 783 and 773 BC. It was initially thought that both the wagon hub and chamber were made of the same piece of wood, which would have interesting implications for the temporality of the funerary ritual and preparation of grave goods and architecture, but lately this has been doubted (Eggert 2012: 281). The grave of an adult male included a sword of the Gündlingen type, which can typologically be dated early in Ha C1 (Trachsel 2004: 149). According to Trachsel (2004: 151), the Hallstatt C1/C2 transition dates to 720 BC, and the transition from Ha C to D at around 650 BC. The end of the Hallstatt and beginning of the La Tène period would then have to be dated to around 520 BC, too early for some

<i>Reinecke 1965</i>		<i>Müller-Karpe 1959</i>		<i>Trachsel 2004</i>		<i>this book</i>	
<i>dates BC</i>		<i>dates BC</i>		<i>dates BC</i>		<i>dates BC</i>	
Bz D	1300–1200	Bz D	1300–1200				
Ha A	1200–1000	Ha A1/2	1200–1000				
Ha B	1000–850/800	Ha B1	1000–900				
		Ha B2/3	900–750			LBA	to 800
Ha C	850/800–650	Ha C	750–600	Ha C1	810–720	Ha C1	800–710
				Ha C2	720–650	Ha C2	710–625
Ha D	650–450	Ha D	600–450	Ha D1	650–595	Ha D1	625–550
				Ha D2	595–565	Ha D2	550–500
				Ha D3	565–520	Ha D3	500–450

Figure 3.2 Absolute dating of late Bronze Age and early Iron Age chronological phases

researchers. Dendrochronological dates for grave 352 from Dürrenberg, Austria (Sormaz and Stöllner 2005), for example, a complex that clearly dates to Ha D3 in typo-chronological terms, dates to 464 BC.

Paul Reinecke's dating scheme is widespread in central Europe, but the application of a system developed for southwest Germany to other regions remains difficult. Numerous other cemetery-based and regional chronological systems exist, which are normally based on detailed investigations of find combinations and typological developments of pottery, bronze and other materials. Chronologies of the Iron Age correlate different categories of finds and practices that follow different trajectories, aiming to create a 'package' of features appearing in a synchronised fashion, which, of course, remains unrealistic (cf. Collis 2008: 100). The synchronisation of local chronologies is most often, however, done primarily via the bronze typology (for example, Pare 1998, Pare 1999, Parzinger 1988, see Teržan 1992: for a solid critique, Torbrügge 1991, Torbrügge 1992) under the assumption that single types are characteristic for sharply defined chronological phases. Nevertheless, there are a number of problems with this assumption.

First, in areas with little use of metal generally there are few complexes that can be dated, and the metals that are used in the graves are often not locally produced, may be in use for a long time and represent a quite heterogeneous, eclectic mix (for example, Statzendorf, Austria, Rebay 2006). Second, understanding objects solely in terms of chronology underrepresents their social significance, in particular as markers of identity and status, but also as cherished possessions. An important observation that Martin Trachsel emphasises (Trachsel 2004) is that the date of production of objects in a grave is not necessarily the same as the date of object deposition. The finds assemblage of a grave is often dated collectively based on the latest object. In fact, it appears that especially those types connected to individual identity, such as jewellery, dress elements or weapons, are acquired throughout a person's lifetime. Women in particular receive a number of objects at the time of adolescence (Müller 1994: 210–213). Depending on the age of death, these objects may be several decades old when they are placed in graves. Other objects are manufactured specifically for deposition in the grave, and their date of manufacture corresponds closely to the date of deposition. When dating object assemblages, it is important to consider the age of the buried individual, as well as the biography of the individual artefacts. It has to be made clear what the date of an object actually refers to – the time of production or the time of deposition.

Third, it is common in a Hallstatt context to deposit reused, repaired and recycled objects, as well as objects that must have been handed down as heirlooms. The belt plates from Brezje, Slovenia (Plate 12, Tumulus 1, grave 1, and Tumulus 18, grave 18, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 32. 17, 32.18, Turk 2005: fig. 42), for instance, were both worn enough to break and be repaired by driving rivets through the overlapping pieces of sheet bronze. In this process, the decorative scenes were shortened and altered (Rebay-Salisbury 2012b). Belt plates in particular were often re-worked into pendants or even anthropomorphic plaques; at the sanctuary of Ampass-Demlfeld, Austria, it could be shown exactly how the pieces were cut from the older object (Tomedi 2009: 273, fig.2b). At Hallstatt, a

number of objects were reworked and integrated into sets of women's jewellery, including parts of wagons and horse gear, as well as fragments of sheet bronze vessels, belts and helmets (Glunz-Hüsken 2013). An emotional connection to the first users of these objects seems likely in these cases, as well as a protective or religious significance.

Swords of antique style have repeatedly been found in elite graves of the southeastern Hallstatt area, for instance, at Gornja Radgona and Stična, Slovenia (Harding 1995: 87, Teržan 1990: 85), and more recently, at Strettweg, Austria (Tiefengraber 2013). Swords of Tachlovice type normally date to Ha B (before 800 BC), but both the use of such old-fashioned forms and the practice of deliberate destruction at deposition a couple of hundred years later connect the funerary rituals of the elite in the early Iron Age to Urnfield customs. It is difficult to know if these finds represent true heirloom objects that have been handed down over generations, because we do not know how and if objects were bequeathed at all and, if so, to whom. These traditional swords may have been passed on from father to eldest son, as would perhaps still be customary in our own society; the last son without sons might have received the sword as a grave good after death. Stories like these, although plausible, are difficult to prove, and the motives for including objects in graves might work entirely differently.

The addition of a large fragment of a decorated *situla* in Grave 346, Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl (Fig. 7.42, Moser 2010: 108, 110–113) to a high-status grave dating to the second half of the third century BC is particularly intriguing. The fragment shows a feasting scene with musicians, horses and hunters returning with a deer, as well as a ploughing scene. It can stylistically and technically be dated to the first half of the fifth century BC. The long time span between the production of the *situla* in the first place and deposition in its fragmentary status not only underlines the significance of the object even at a time when it was unusable, but also suggests that it was curated for a long time and could not just be disposed of or recycled; its significance, or perhaps the significance of the depicted scene, endured for centuries.

Traditions may be honoured by the inclusion of objects, but also by adhering to long-established practices. At Este-Ricovero, Italy, for example, a woman named Nerka was cremated and buried in Grave 23, dating to the first half of the third century BC, but following funerary rituals and patterns of grave furnishing established in the eighth century BC. As a high-status woman, she was characterised in the grave as a hostess and textile producer, competent in cult and religion and able to fulfil her position within a powerful family (Lang 2012: 374). The deliberate return to traditional funerary rites underlines her significance.

These examples demonstrate the importance of dating objects in context. Not only do we have to understand the date of production, but also the use-life of artefacts, their connections with the person buried in the grave, including their age and stage of their lifecycle, and the significance attributed the object at deposition; all these factors feed into the chronological classification. In the light of this discussion, I aim to differentiate between context dates and object dates in analysing human images, although in many cases the dating will be the same. In order to acknowledge the production and use-life of objects, I adopt a moderate to high

translation of relative chronological terms to absolute dates (see Figure 3.2), with the Hallstatt period spanning from circa 800 to 450 BC. The absolute dates given for objects should be understood as rough guidelines, as they mainly constitute translated relative dates given in the literature; the inbuilt assumptions and reasons for the suggested date in the literature frequently remain unclear.

It is also important to appreciate that the end of the Hallstatt period at around 450 BC is not a cut-off point for this study, but the stylistic change from Hallstatt to La Tène art is. Some human representations continue Hallstatt traditions, even if their production and deposition reference the La Tène period. Most notably the images on *situlae* tell us about traditional ways of life and death, referring to times past; votive figurines and plaques in Alpine and northern Italian sanctuaries also continue ritual traditions into Roman times.

3.3 Lifeways

The third main factor after place and time of birth for the kind of person one becomes is the context of socialisation and upbringing. The way one's parents and community conduct their everyday lives teaches, consciously and sub-consciously, social norms and beliefs, and they communicate the framework in which self-expression of identity is permitted. What kind of life did most people in the central European Iron Age lead? What were the main factors that generated different lives for different people?

The landscapes people inhabited range from flat river valleys and basins, plateaux, rolling foothills and low mountain ranges to high Alpine regions above the tree line, each offering unique affordances and challenges. For Alpine areas, for instance, we can consider transhumance, the seasonal migration between valleys and Alpine pastures (Cerwinka and Mandl 1998). Cattle as well as sheep and goats are brought up to high pastures in the summer, while being stabled in the winter. Animals are kept for milk, ploughing and fertilisation; centres such as Hallstatt and Hallein, with access to salt, might have produced large amounts of pork and beef, respectively, which was cured and preserved (Pucher 1999, Pucher 2009). Towards the east and the Hungarian basin, the climate was increasingly continental, with very dry summers and extended periods of flooding at the change of seasons. Nomadic cultures on the eastern fringe of the Hallstatt area, with their emphasis on horses, wagons and mobile mounted warriors, undoubtedly interacted with and thereby influenced sedentary farmers in the area. Life on the waterfront has to be considered for both inner-Alpine lakes and sites in Poland (Harding and Raczkowski 2010). Veneto, Friuli and Istria were connected to the Mediterranean lifestyle (Horden and Purcell 2000) by the northern Adriatic Sea, most likely making the most of access to fish and sea fruit, as well as taking advantage of travelling by sailing boats.

Iron Age life was, for most people, still dominated by the yearly cycle of farming and stockbreeding (Lüning et al. 1997). The temperate climate of central Europe with its changes of seasons, including cold and icy winters as well as hot and dry summers, had a profound impact on the activities carried out throughout

the year, which, among many others, included growing, harvesting and threshing crops; growing fruit and vegetables; attending farm animals' needs and processing their produce; managing woodland; and producing textiles. Overall, the early Iron Age was wetter and cooler than the preceding late Bronze Age (Kristiansen 1998: 31–32, Fig. 12). Life in summer and winter was most likely quite different, not only in terms of which activities were the most urgent to attend to, but also how people interacted and lived together. Communities (and their livestock) moved closer together in the winter, whereas summer activities were more dispersed in the landscape, enabling contact and interaction with communities further afield, but at the same time, limiting intense interaction at home.

The majority of people lived in agricultural villages, small clusters of single-room rectangular houses with storage facilities and some sunken features as well as ancillary buildings. The building techniques were tied into the landscape, making the most of available resources: in Alpine areas, limestone is often used for the foundation of log cabins, whereas in the lowlands, wooden posts and wattle-and-daub constructions prevail; thatched roofs were common. Images of houses are rare, and most of them stem from the rocks of the Val Camonica (Anati 1961: 159); one image was sketched into a vessel found in Balzers in Liechtenstein and dating to around 500 BC (Gleirscher 1991). They show multi-storage, post-built structures with triangular roofs and with small bases, perhaps indicating stilts or a cellar.

The Iron Age household is a group of people living together, often equated with but not necessarily the same as a family. It represents the basic unit of production and consumption (Webley in press). Later sources suggest that late Iron Age and early medieval Celtic societies (Karl 2006) are usually constructed from households comprising a male head, with one or more wives, children, fosterlings, servants and slaves. Communities are built of a number of households, a village, or more dispersed settlements within a local area, at a size in which face-to-face interaction is still feasible on a daily basis (Webley in press). From the late Bronze Age onwards, agglomerated villages emerge in central Europe, as well as fortified hilltop settlements (Harding 2000: 48–72). Early Iron Age centralisation and urbanisation processes are evident from sites such as the Heuneburg, Germany, and Mont Lassois, France (Rieckhoff and Fichtl 2011). The size of communities of people living together grew, perhaps to several hundreds and thousands. The population of the Heuneburg hillfort and surrounding settlements has recently been estimated at around 5000 (Fernández-Götz and Krausse 2012). Representative architecture, planned villages with houses arranged along streets, religious centres, traces of long-distance trade and craft specialisation are signs of a change that was, most probably, primarily social: the inhabitants of the nucleated settlements had to be sustained from the surrounding area, which makes a hierarchical distinction of land owners and peasant farmers likely.

The first and most fundamental way in which daily activities were structured was along the lines of gender and age, although we do not know the extent to which labour was distributed and how permeable the boundaries of gendered activities were. Transgressions of these boundaries were most likely sanctioned by ridicule

and shame (Sofaer 2006a: 107). There might also be a mismatch between the ideology of gendered labour distribution and the way tasks were actually carried out. In early Iron Age art and graves, for instance, there is a strong association between men, hunting and warfare, and textile work and women. Domestic tasks such as preparing food, looking after children and homecraft is normally attributed to women, whereas men were responsible for outdoor tasks. When men were absent, women often had to fill in for the necessary tasks, and when push came to shove, all members of society probably had to help out and accomplish tasks together. Although there is considerable regional variation in the way children were treated after death and children are rarely shown in artwork, there is good evidence that children were involved in proto-industrial production processes. Even newborns were brought into the salt mines of Hallstatt, and children show similar activity-induced bone markers to those of adults (Pany-Kucera, Reschreiter and Kern 2010).

The diet of early Iron Age people in central Europe included spelt barley, emmer wheat and millet as the most important cereal crops. Einkorn wheat, foxtail millet, naked barley and naked wheat are also found. Oats and rye present weed-like admixtures at the time (Boenke 2005: 251). Peas, lentils and beans are represented in the archaeobotanical record of most early Iron Age sites (Boenke 2005: 252). Oilseeds include flax, camelina and poppy. Fruit included apples, pears, strawberries, raspberries, blackberries and blueberries; blackthorn, hawthorn and hazelnut were likely gathered from forests.

The most important species of domestic animals were cattle, sheep/goats and pigs, found in varying proportions in the faunal assemblages throughout the Hallstatt area (Müller-Scheeßel and Trebsche 2007). The ratio of cattle to sheep/goats and pigs (48:28:24 overall) depended largely on the nature of the landscape and environment and on settlement size; large numbers of people were fed with pork. Cultural choices of meat species and cuts were found for food offerings in graves. Meat consumption included game; the analysis of faunal collections of 74 Hallstatt and early La Tène settlements (Trebsche 2013) came to the conclusion that hunting was a regular activity and contributed to the diet in both elite and non-elite settlements. Fish was also evidenced in a quarter of the settlements. The primary species hunted were red deer (45 per cent), followed by hare (23 per cent) and wild boar (11 per cent), whereas roe deer (7 per cent) was less common.

Mining communities and settlements specialising in craft production, in contrast, were supplied with meat from domestic animals. In Hallstatt, Austria, the pig had particular importance; cattle were significant on the Dürrenberg, Austria (Pucher 1999, Pucher 2009). It is likely that curing meat with salt was its own industry in the early Iron Age. The diet reconstructed for the miners of Hallstatt is based on a cereal stew, consisting mainly of barley, millet and spelt, and including beans, peas and lentils as well as some meat (Barth 1992). The analysis of 73 well-preserved faeces from the salt mines of the Dürrenberg (Boenke 2012) revealed that miners were well nourished and consumed mainly cereals, fruit and meat, but also ate some legumes. Spices such as the mustard-like-tasting camelina, poppy, flax and caraway were found as food additives.

Although miners may be a specific sub-set of the population and not representative of the complete early Iron Age population, the data reveal what food was actually consumed. Further insights can be expected from a broader application of isotope analysis of human remains. The diet of the people buried in the Magdalenenberg near Villingen, Germany, a group of people of heterogeneous origin, was high in domestic animal protein from milk or meat and did not differ significantly between men and women. Fish was not consumed in significant proportions. A group of men buried with weapons seemed to have consumed some millet and large amounts of animal protein (Oelze et al. 2012: 414), a pattern found in La Tène weapon graves of Bohemia as well (Le Huray and Schutkowski 2005).

The degree of specialisation in Iron Age communities was probably limited, and crafts such as pottery, textile production and metal work were carried out alongside farming activities. Nevertheless, in areas with good raw material access, for instance, to salt or metal ores, specialised communities emerged who were linked in exchange networks and often accumulated enough surplus wealth to leave a considerable proportion in graves. In turn, the goods reflect the manifold economic and social connections built over time. It is difficult to establish to which degree communities acted as a unit and engaged communally in labour and shared the profit or were hierarchically organised, with dependent and exploitive relationships.

Social hierarchies are in fact amongst the themes most often discussed in Iron Age studies. It is tempting directly to correlate the wealth expressed in the early Iron Age funerary record with social status, and despite the many pitfalls this approach can entail, it is not entirely unreasonable. We have moved away from understanding the funerary record as a portrait of the deceased and consider the social implications that led to the funerary record, assembled by members of the community and not the deceased himself or herself (Parker Pearson 1999). However, goods are arranged around a real human being in the grave, which contains the body and associated objects; many of these objects are tailored to and custom-made for the body. And even if the first of the 'princely burials' were considered rich primarily in terms of the antiquarian value of the grave goods (Fischer 1995), it is clear that there are marked differences in quantity and quality of grave goods, as well as in labour investment in the construction of the burial monument. At particular points in prehistory, in particular places, under particular political circumstances, drawing conclusions from the funerary record on the status of the individual is likely to work; to compare widely across time and place, however, is more complicated.

According to Kristian Kristiansen's analysis (Kristiansen 1998: 394–402), patterns of wealth deposition in graves and hoards follow the rise and consolidation of elites. He suggests that the rise of new elites is linked to expansion politics, mobile wealth such as cattle and metal and exogamy (with bridewealth), archaeologically visible in rich, male graves and little emphasis on hoarding. When expansion ends, societies consolidate. Settled agrarian societies need to keep wealth in the family by endogamy (with dowries), made archaeologically visible by rich female graves and more elaborate hoarding/offering practices. Deposition

patterns, however, varied widely across Europe, and the mechanisms of gaining and maintaining status might include practices not communicated in the mortuary arena, such as feasting and conspicuous consumption (Dietler 1996).

Early Iron Age societies are often understood in terms of a 'chiefdom' (Arnold and Blair Gibson 1995, Kristiansen 1998), the middle ground between a tribe and a state in the ladder of cultural evolution. Chiefdoms are kinship-based social organisations in which senior members of selected families are ascribed high status and the leading role, and ideology is used to legitimate the political role of the aristocracy. Such chiefs have been 'identified' in the late Hallstatt 'princely burials' such as Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a). Members of the elite families resided in fortified hilltop settlements and were buried in large burial mounds in their vicinity (for a critique of this model, see Eggert 1999, Krauß 1999). Individuals with special roles in society, ritual specialists, persons with medicinal knowledge, traders and specialist craftspeople might have emerged from such settlement centres. Classic visions of the Iron Age social pyramid, inspired by Julius Caesar's description of the Aedui in first century BC France (*Gallie Wars* 6.13–15), include a religious elite as well as one of mounted warriors, and varying numbers of commoners, who were dependants of the elite, had to pay tribute or service and had limited political power. Large fortified sites and burial mounds were taken as evidence that elites could organise and control labour and, by doing so, manifest status (Cunliffe 2005). Other views suggest communal effort could have been put into their construction, and in turn, represented communal wealth and networks of social obligations between communities (Hill 1993, Sharples 2010).

Slaves are often absent in romanticised visions of Iron Age society, but slavery was a fact and took on considerable proportions across neighbouring peoples in antiquity; there is no reason to assume that in early Iron Age Europe this would have been any different (Arnold 1988, Taylor 2001). Craft specialists, such as goldsmiths, have been ascribed a pivotal role in terms of transmitting ideas and styles over large areas (Wells 1996). The itinerant smith, however, might in fact have been a slave, sold and resold amongst the early Iron Age elite.

What emerged from years of debate about Iron Age social structures is that no model is universally applicable, and we can envision minimally structured, agrarian societies alongside communities specialising in certain tasks, regionally diverse patterns of agglomeration of wealth and power and temporary hierarchisation (Moore in prep). Regardless exactly how we envision social rank in Iron Age society, the elite would have access to better food, more material goods, more labour power and more control over decision making; life for a slave, in contrast, would have meant not even being able to influence crucial life changes. Similar to being sold as a slave, women might have experienced drastic uprooting on the occasion of being married, with little or no power to control their fate.

Although differences in social status can be translated into different ways of living, other variables were the same for everyone. Disease and death affected rich and poor alike. Life events, such as birth, transition to adulthood, marriage and the death of family and friends affected everyone, albeit in different ways. The funerary record is, of course, overemphasised in the archaeological record,

but evidence for ritual and religious activity is also abundant in the early Iron Age. Transitions in the biography of a person (van Gennep 1960 [1909]) would have been marked by rituals, and the yearly cycle was most likely structured by recurring religious festivities. There is evidence that time was measured and associated with ritual in early Iron Age Europe (Teržan 1996). Social and religious feasts gave life structure. They played an important part in breaking up people's everyday routines and gave opportunities to affirm social bonds and create a sense of community.

It is easy to underestimate the importance of cosmology and cosmological beliefs in the pre-scientific world. Beliefs about fate and how to influence it, about the power of nature, gods and heroes; beliefs about death, the afterlife and what happens to a person after death all affected ritual and religious practices and were intertwined with everyday life (see also Insoll 2004, Insoll 2011: for definitions of ritual, religion, ideology and cosmology). In early Iron Age central Europe, an abundance of ritual and religious places emerges. 'Gifts to the gods' are evident by individual objects, sets of objects or collections of similar items found in particular landscape contexts such as caves, springs, rivers and other watery places, as well as Alpine peaks and important crossroads. Sanctuaries emerge as built places in the vicinity of settlements, dedicated to the worship of deities and the sacrifice of food, votives and other goods (for example, Ruta Serafini 2002, Steiner 2010, Weiss 1997).

Bodies are shaped by the conditions of life, and individual identities emerge from the ways of living described in general terms in this chapter. The landscape setting, as well as pre-existing social structures and ontological beliefs, affected the place into which each member of society was born and defined the extent to which development and change were possible.

3.4 The physical anthropology of early Iron Age people

What do these bodies look like physically? Anthropological investigations of skeletal material from the rich cemetery record of the early Iron Age, inhumed and cremated remains, provide some answers. The methods and research questions of human biology have changed over the years. Morphometrics and ethnic categorisations in the first half of the twentieth century gave way to an increased focus on palaeo-pathology and the reconstruction of individual life histories as inscribed in human bones by practices and habits, diet and nutrition, life circumstances and reproductive history, as well as other life events (for example, Agarwal and Glencross 2011). Palaeo-demography aims at reconstructing the composition of communities by looking at sex and age ratios, mortality, fertility and migration. Isotope and DNA analyses (Bramanti 2013, Brown and Brown 2013, Eriksson 2013) of early Iron Age human remains promise exciting insights into diet and nutrition, migration and mobility, as well as kinship.

Individuals from elite graves, such as the '*Dame de Vix*', France (Knüsel 2002, Rolley 2003), have received the most attention. Although several anthropological investigations classed her as a female who died at the age of approximately 30 to

40, certain androgynous skeletal traits caused confusion. The individual suffered from episodes of childhood stress and congenital conditions that caused abnormal growth. Her skull is asymmetrical, and she 'would have had a waddling gait and held her head tilted to the right side' (Knüsel 2002: 292). Her stature, estimated at about 160 cm, matches that of the bronze *kratēr* in the grave.

Eleven individuals from elite burial mounds were recently compared to more than 100 late Bronze Age, 650 early Iron Age and 50 late Iron Age individuals from the region of Baden-Württemberg, Germany (Wahl et al. 2010). They included the central burial as well as Graves 2, 3 and 4 from Eberdingen-Hochdorf; the central burial as well as Graves 17 and 18 from Grafenbühl-Asperg; and the central burials of Ludwigsburg, Herbertingen-Hundersingen, Schöckingen and Magdalenenberg-Villingen. The study revealed that the elite male was, on average, 177 cm tall, 6 cm taller than 57 contemporary non-elite men. Aged at 43 rather than 37 years, on average, they died at a higher age than the average population. Significant muscle markers, particularly of the arms, suggest trained bodies (Wahl et al. 2010: 33).

The Magdalenenberg near Villingen, Germany, contained an elite burial in a central wooden chamber and 126 secondary graves with 144 buried individuals. Except for eight cremated individuals, all bodies were inhumed, but not particularly well preserved (Gallay 1977). The mound included 13 children up to 14 years of age, 4 juveniles, 63 adults between 20 and 40 years of age and 22 adults over 40. Men and women were equally represented: men had an average height of 168 cm, women 164 cm (Gallay 1977: 107). Pathologies and traces of trauma were rare, but most probably because the bone preservation was too poor for further conclusions. Fourteen individuals suffered from caries; teeth showed heavy signs of abrasion.

A recent isotope analysis of 58 of the buried individuals from the Magdalenenberg (using C, N, S, Sr and O isotopes) aimed to clarify if the community members buried in the mound were local or exogenous and to get some 'insights into the social catchment area of the elite burial' (Oelze et al. 2012: 408). The isotopic patterns were very heterogeneous, suggesting that people buried in the mound were not only local, but grew up in the wider region. About a third of the individuals may have lived on the local hillfort Kapf, but others likely came from the Black Forest, the Lake Constance area and perhaps even from south of the Alps (Oelze et al. 2012: 417). Both men and women were highly mobile in the early Iron Age.

A synoptic anthropological investigation of early Iron Age sites from the Upper Palatinate, including the cemeteries of Beilngries-Industriegebiet, Dietfurt-Tennisplatz and Schirndorf, included 420 individuals (Claassen 1989). The sub-adult ratios of the cemeteries, at 22 per cent, 18 per cent and 33 per cent, are thought to be too low to represent the whole communities, particularly because babies under one year of age are under-represented in the cemetery record. The average height of women from these cemeteries is 161 cm, and 170 cm for men; the average age of death was between 31 and 32 years old for both sexes. Low frequencies of fractures, injuries and degenerative diseases of the skeletons were

noted. *Cribra orbitalia* is rare, which suggests a diet containing sufficient levels of iron. The caries frequency is low at around 10 per cent. Other cemeteries in the same region, Dietfurt-Tankstelle and Riedenburg-Untereggersberg, have since been further investigated (Augstein 2015, Nikulka 1998, Schubert 1998), adding to the picture of a relatively healthy population.

The anthropological investigation of 215 skeletons of an estimated 4000 from the cemetery of Hallstatt, Austria, identified 175 as adults, 70 as male and 43 as female; the subadult ratio of 19 per cent (29 children and 11 juveniles) is not thought to be representative (Pany 2009). Musculoskeletal markers revealed that both men and women worked hard. Men had the strongest marks on the upper arm, presumably from striking movements and from overcoming resistance; they had well-developed chest and back muscles. Women, on the other hand, showed different patterns of strain: their strongest marks are on the attachment sites of muscles that flex the elbow and lift the forearm. This pattern points to lifting, carrying and pulling heavy loads. Women also showed asymmetrical signs of wear on the cervical vertebrae consistent with carrying loads on the shoulders. The gendered patterns of strain point to a labour division along gender lines. Children were involved in work from a young age, as degenerative signs and alterations in their skeletons suggest (Pany 2009: 140).

Cemeteries of the Dürrenberg near Hallein, Austria, date to the transition from the Early to the late Iron Age and to the La Tène period. At the cemetery Hexenwandfeld (Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2014) 72 burials were found in 29 graves, of which 58 individuals could be anthropologically evaluated. The sex ratio within the cemetery is fairly balanced, and at least 15 of the individuals are of sub-adult age. The youngest children are two to three years old, which is consistent with the observation that babies were buried in settlement locations (cf. Karl and Löcker 2011). Women of the age class 21 to 25 were twice as likely as men to die of a comparable age, pointing to marriage and first motherhood at this age (Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2014: 218). Enamel hypoplasia was found in all but six individuals. Children, particularly those between the ages of three and five, presumably after weaning, were subject to nutritional deficiencies. These were also manifest in *cribra orbitalia*, which affected about half of the individuals, as well as the very frequent inflammatory traces on long bones. Traces of inflammation caused by diseases such as *meningitis*, *otitis*, *periostitis* or *osteomyelitis* are common; the sinus *durae matris* and the paranasal sinuses were affected in 71 per cent and 56 per cent of individuals, respectively (Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2014: 228). Trepanation was thought to help combat the pain of such conditions, and at least one individual was treated in such a way on this cemetery. Trepanation is common in late Iron Age communities in Austria (for example, Urban, Teschler-Nicola and Schultz 1985). Degenerative diseases and trauma are not observed so often. Young adults showed surprisingly few signs of hard physical labour for a population that is thought to have lived from salt mining. Wear and tear of the skeleton, however, did strike in middle age. The frequency of caries is about 42 per cent, comparable to other cemeteries of the Dürrenberg. The women from Hexenwandfeld were, on average, 157 cm tall, and the men 168 cm (Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2014: 227).

The high proportion of cremation graves makes the assessment of the physical anthropology difficult in some areas. The large cremation cemetery of Bischofshofen-Pestfriedhof, Austria (Renhart 2009), encompassed 507 cremation graves, 68 of which contained more than one individual. Of the cremations able to have their sex assigned, 64 per cent could be identified as female, 36 per cent as male; 18 per cent were sub-adult individuals. The prevalence of female burials has been noted in other Iron Age cemeteries, for example, Sopron, Hungary (Renhart 2009: 291). Only three babies under one year old are present in the cemetery, and the proportion of sub-adults is lower than the expected 50 per cent. The statistical life expectancy at birth was about 20 years; only 9 years if the child deficit is corrected and number and ages of missing children excluded from the funerary contexts are included in the demographic modelling. Having survived the dangerous time of childhood and adolescence, men could expect to die at an average age of 37, women at 35. The lower age is likely connected to the risk of pregnancy and childbirth. An average height of 171 cm for men and 160 for women was calculated from a few well-preserved individuals (Renhart 2009: 299).

At Statzendorf, Austria (Renhart 2006), life expectancy was slightly lower for women. Men were, on average, 166 cm tall, women 157 cm. Both men and women have muscle markers that speak for a well-trained, muscular body. According to the metrical diagnosis, the skulls appear to be medium length and narrow (Renhart 2006: 330–331). Although the cremated remains of the four individuals deposited at Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Grill and Wiltchke-Schrotta 2013), were too fragmented for sexing and height assessment, the size of the bronze body armour suggests that the buried male member of the elite was about 180 cm tall.

An unusual context is that of 138 uncremated individuals recovered from the cave Durezza-Schachthöhle near Villach, Austria (Fabrizii-Reuer and Reuer 1997). Contemporary burials are cremation burials, but special events, such as warfare or plagues, may have resulted in unusual burial practices. The lack of grave goods and metal dress components, except for a few *fibulae*, finger rings and hair rings, as well as one arm ring, an earring and a few glass beads (Gleirscher 1997), is also unusual for the Hallstatt period. It cannot be excluded that the cave represents a place of human sacrifice. Nevertheless, the sex and age distribution does not differ significantly from what is known from early Iron Age cemeteries. The 36 children and 102 adults did not show any signs of perimortal trauma; three men had injuries on the skulls that were in the process of healing. There is no evidence for particular bio-mechanical stress from hard physical labour, but the state of teeth was bad. Front teeth frequently showed heavy abrasion, and the caries frequency was high in comparison to contemporary cemeteries.

The Býčí skála cave, Czech Republic, in contrast, includes a wealth of material goods, for instance, a wagon, a figuratively decorated bronze vessel, Etruscan imports and other items one could expect in an elite burial. The cave contained the remains of 30 to 40 individuals, primarily skulls, whereas post-cranial skeletal parts are largely missing. Again, the sex and age distribution is not atypical for any living population. There is, however, evidence for post-mortem cut marks,

which strengthens the hypothesis of Býčí skála being a place of sacrifice or of burial after violent conflict (Parzinger 1996, Parzinger, Nekvasil and Barth 1995).

Taken together, the physical anthropology of early Iron Age people suggests some site-specific and regional differences in terms of health status, average body height and physical stress. Access to nutrition and physical labour was, at least in some areas, dependent on sex and social class. The average age of the living population was low at around 22 to 23 years of age, calculated from the average age at death above 25 and under 35 years (Burmeister and Gebühr in press). A community of 20 people might typically include a baby and a toddler, three to five children from about age 3 to 14, two or three juveniles, about ten adults aged between 20 and 40 and a few people over this age. Whereas many settlement units probably did not exceed this scale, the Heuneburg hillfort and surrounding settlements might have housed as many as 5000 inhabitants (Fernández-Götz and Krausse 2012: 31).

4 Funerary practices and the body

The way bodies are treated after death is a unique source of how people were socially understood, but it is difficult to comprehend. The living person is not the same as the dead body, and yet some of the treatment of the dead body refers to the persons as if they were still living. All human societies, and even some animals (Kluger 2013), feel the need to work through the experience of loss and grief through funerary practices. One component of this is handling the dead body to remove it from society and integrate it into the community of the dead, which can, as evidenced by ethnographic observations (for example, Carr 1995, Ucko 1969), be done in a staggering number of different ways. There is, of course, an archaeological bias towards treatments that leave obvious archaeological traces: certain elements of body treatment are only apparent in very special, well-documented cases, such as the burial of Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a). The treatment of the body includes the choice of whether to inhumate or cremate. Both practices are common in the Hallstatt period of central Europe, but show distinct regional and chronological patterns (Rebay-Salisbury *in press-c*). The next level of analysis is the way in which the body is equipped with objects and graves are built and furnished; the two often appear conflated in the archaeological record. Lastly, the ways in which bodies are buried together, in graves of multiple individuals, burial mounds and cemeteries, might give insights into how social ties were formed and communities were imagined and constructed.

4.1 The treatment of the body

Between death and the burial of the corpse, inhumed or cremated, the body is prepared for the funeral. This includes actions that are difficult to access archaeologically, such as washing and anointing the corpse, dressing and wrapping it, preparing the grave goods and constructing the grave. At the spectacular Hochdorf burial, Germany (Fig. 4.1, Banck-Burgess 1999, Bieg 2002, Biel 1981, Biel 1985a, Hansen 2010, Koch 2006, Körber-Grohne 1985, Krauß 1996, Olivier 1999), we know that several weeks must have elapsed between the beginning of the construction of the grave and the sealing of the wooden chamber with all its funerary installations, even if some of them seem to have been executed in a hurry (Olivier 1999: 122). The preparations for the funeral included some interesting

details. Personal possessions of the deceased, such as the bronze dagger, bronze belt, shoes and drinking horn, were transformed by adding a layer of sheet gold. Other gold objects, such as the non-functional gold *fibulae*, cup and bracelet, were manufactured on the spot, as evidenced by remains of the goldworking process in the fill of the burial mound. Traces of workshops at the fringe of the burial mound indicate that gold, bronze, amber and perhaps even iron were processed right before the burial mound was heaped up (Biel 1985a: 35).

It is not known where and how the body was stored before closing the grave, or indeed, if precautions were taken to preserve the body for that time. In the light of the evidence recently compiled by Gerd Stegmaier (2008), conservation seems rather likely. Despite the wealth of biological remains recovered at Hochdorf (Körber-Grohne 1985), it is remarkable that human hair was absent, and so were larvae of insects, in particular the blow flies (*Calliphoridae*), which would be expected to start inhabiting a decaying body and surrounding textiles within hours. A winter death might explain the absence of insects, but pollen analysis suggests that the burial chamber was open in the late summer/autumn period sometime between August and October (Körber-Grohne 1985: 147). Insect remains from a further nine Hallstatt-period graves in Germany and Austria could all be identified as house flies (*Muscidae*), whereas the blow flies were absent (Stegmaier and Amendt 2010). This indicates that bodies were not immediately inhabited by insects, but only after several days or weeks (Stegmaier and Amendt 2010 270); in this period, the bodies must have been kept clean and conserved.

The methods of body conservation remain elusive. Embalming with honey was a technique used frequently in antiquity, most notably for the body of Alexander

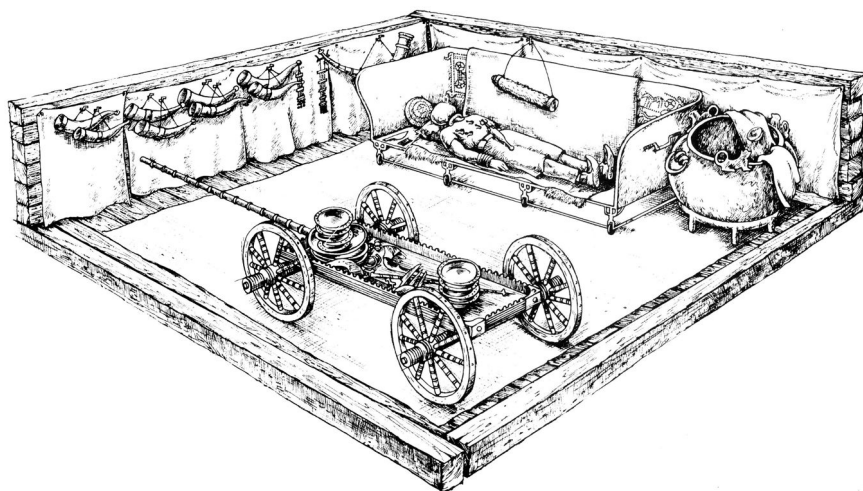


Figure 4.1 Reconstruction drawing of the central chamber at Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985b: fig. 119, © Landesdenkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg, courtesy of Jörg Biel)

the Great (Stegmaier 2008: 52). The large bronze cauldron found in the grave contained sediment with large quantities of pollen and sufficient quantities of honey to produce alcoholic mead, but beeswax was also identified (Körber-Grohne 1985: 147). Instead of a drink, the cauldron might have contained the conservation materials for the dead body – honey and wax (Kull 1997: 277). Drying, smoking, cooking and roasting the body is a further technique employed all over the world to conserve bodies. Applying heat to the body would explain the absence of human hair at Hochdorf. Finally, wrapping in many layers of textiles would contribute to the body's preservation, but does not suffice to explain all the evidence. A combination of methods is therefore most likely (Stegmaier 2008: 53). Twigs of trees and shrubs as well as flowers, which were recovered underneath and on the bronze couch, might have been part of the conservation procedures and used to cover up the smell (Koch 2009).

The dressing and wrapping of the body are further aspects of preparation. Textiles of the clothes of the deceased did not leave many traces and were probably made of linen, which does not preserve as well as wool (Körber-Grohne 1985: 147). Personal grave goods such as the gold *fibulae*, torc, arm ring, belt and dagger, as well as the shoes, were placed on the body before he was wrapped. It is unclear if the body was wrapped immediately, or if the spectacular gold attire was kept visible for a certain time, after conservation or while he was laid out at home or transported. He could also have been wrapped when he was placed in the burial chamber, or have received some additional layers of wrapping along with the objects in the grave. The shrouds were spectacular: the Hochdorf body was wrapped in a crimson textile of local craftsmanship, but coloured by the Mediterranean Kermes dye (produced from a scale insect) and a red-and-blue checked cloth; a further checked cloth was placed over the legs (Banck 1996: 44). The wrapping with textiles extends from the body to all the grave goods and the floor and walls of the burial chamber (Banck-Burgess 1999), constituting wealth of almost unimaginable proportions.

Textiles preserve most often in the presence of metal, and are known from many Hallstatt-period funerary contexts, both inhumations and cremations (Grömer 2016). Bodies, intact and cremated, were wrapped in textiles, and so were grave goods. A layering of textiles, in which cremations are first wrapped, then placed in a container, which is then wrapped again, is attested from the north and south of the Alps. In addition, the textiles were sometimes fastened with small *fibulae* and pins (Banck-Burgess 1999: 18–21).

The wrapping of the body might serve the purpose of an initial separation of the dead body from the view of the living before it is interred. From Greek sources we know that the lying in repose, the *prothesis*, was an important part of the funerary ritual (cf. Kull 1997). Depictions of death on geometric Greek vase paintings, around 900–700 BC, often show the wrapped body surrounded by mourners (for example, Boardman 1998: fig. 44, 46, 47). In Greece, the body was normally transported to the resting place by the third day after death (Toohey 2010: 364). For exceptional personalities such as Achilles and Hector, however, at least 17 days and more than 20 days are reported (Homer, *Iliad* XXIV 31.413.664,

Odyssey XXIV 63–65, after Stegmaier 2008: 49). Herodotus (*Hist.* 4.71–72) reports that Scythian kings were embalmed and carried on a wagon around their territory from tribe to tribe on a journey lasting for 40 days before they were buried in a royal tomb (Rolle 1979: 74–75). Although we cannot assume this model for the Hallstatt area, it is possible that wagon graves were linked with this element of display. In wagon graves of the West Hallstatt territory, the body is often placed on the wagon box, even if the wheels are dismantled and placed along the sides of the burial chamber (for example, Demmelsdorf, Germany, Abels 1993: 63, Vix, France, Rolley 2003). The practical function of a wagon for display and transport aside, wagon graves have an additional ideological dimension as a vehicle for the journey to the afterlife (Pare 1992). A wrapped body would have been easier to transport and, in the case of Hochdorf, translate from the wagon on to the bronze couch.

The procession to the resting place is another very popular motif in geometric Greek vase painting (for example, Boardman 1998: fig. 45). The *ekphoria* includes the deceased, carried by a horse-drawn carriage, followed by mourners. In Situla Art, processions are also a very popular motif (for example, Matrei, Austria, Bologna-Certosa, Italy, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 59, pl. 64, Magdalenska



Figure 4.2 Cremation necessities on the *situla* Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Kastelic 1964: pl. 12)

gora, Slovenia, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: App. 4) and range from rows of identical persons marching one after the other to more colourful depictions of men and women carrying food and leading animals to the (funerary) feast. The body of the deceased is never depicted in Situla Art, although the composition of the images does indicate that a funerary feast is the most likely interpretation of the procession.

The second register of the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), shows such a procession most clearly. It is spearheaded by a man guiding a bovid to sacrifice, followed by three men carrying various utensils. Three women are depicted next: on their heads, they carry a basket, a cist and a pile of wood – necessities for a cremation burial (Fig. 4.2). Two pairs of men, sharing the burden of a large bronze vessel, follow. Another animal, this time a ram, is part of the procession after that, followed by three men and three women carrying vessels on their heads. Last in the procession are two men, one carrying vessels and the other one a spit and an axe, presumably to slaughter the animals. An iron axe and knife, placed on the wagon, were also part of the Hochdorf assemblage, although animal bones were not (Biel 1985a: 136). This underlines the deceased's role in rituals involving the killing of animals.

4.2 Cremation and inhumation

In central Europe, the late Bronze Age Urnfield period (BA D, Ha A/B, c. 1300 to 800 BC) is characterised by the dominance of cremation as a burial rite. By and large, bodies were cremated, placed in urns and buried in urnfields that could reach considerable dimensions. Inhumation cemeteries, such as the warrior cemetery of Neckarsulm, Germany (Knöpke and Wahl 2009), remain the exception. Although of simple appearance, urn burials imply a complicated chain of actions and practices that constitute the funerary ritual. The burning of the body on the funerary pyre is one crucial element, as it transforms it into a different kind of substance (Sørensen and Rebay 2008b). The practice of cremation may be explained by a range of different beliefs, such as releasing the soul from the body, enabling rebirth or helping the journey to the afterlife, but rarely are beliefs formulated clearly enough that practices can be explained solely through them (Rebay-Salisbury 2012a). In fact, one of the most convincing arguments of why bodies are cremated or inhumed is tradition – bodies are treated the way they always have been, and therefore, it is the right way. Alternatives might never come to mind if there is no exposure to new and different ideas. It is the times in which funerary practices change that require further interpretation.

The treatment of the body does not, however, end with cremation. Although in some cases, the pyre remains stay put and form the basis of the grave, the cremated remains are most often translated to a different place. There is a considerable amount of variation in the way the remains are deposited. First, a distinction can be made if and how the pyre remains were separated from the burnt bones. In some cases, a fair amount of the pyre debris, including the human bones, is scattered in the grave or placed in a vessel. In other cases, the pyre remains and

human bones were separated. The separation and picking out of human bones may be done to varying degrees; small amounts of charcoal are almost always found with the cremated remains. Especially when the pyre remains are extinguished by water or rained on, the colour contrast between the white bones and the dark wood ashes might have aided the separation (see Fig. 4.3).

Most often, only the cremated bones found their way into the graves, but the pyre remains as such might also be deposited in the vicinity, inside or outside the grave. Cremated remains were frequently collected and placed in a container, a ceramic urn or an organic container before being placed in a grave pit. Finds from Cottbus-Alvensleben, Germany, a late Bronze Age to early Iron Age cemetery from the Lausatian area (Bz D – Ha C1) with 105 individuals, revealed that particular care was taken to preserve the person beyond the pyre by stacking the remains in anatomical order in the urns, thereby ‘anthropomorphising’ the urn (Gramsch 2004: 412). However, in other cases little care was taken to ensure completeness or enclosure of the remains. Cremated remains may also be scattered directly in the grave or placed on the ground in heaps. These minute distinctions in the way cremated remains were treated often remain elusive, as different semantics are used by different researchers and wrong descriptions are frequent in the literature (cf. Kurz 1997: 67–70). It is thus difficult to assess the frequency and distribution of these different ways of dealing with the cremated dead.

Grave goods can be added and removed at any stage of the funeral ritual, before, during and after the cremation. Late Bronze Age urn burials tend to include few objects, but this simple appearance does not allow conclusions on the social status of the deceased. At that time, status is not generally expressed in the mortuary realm (exceptions such as Čaka, Slovakia or Seddin, Germany, prove the rule, cf. Kunow 2003, Paulík 1975), but negotiated in other venues such as settlements and sacred places. Traditionally, the large-scale spread of cremation during the middle to late Bronze Age has been understood in terms of the movements of peoples (for example, Childe 1950, Kraft 1926) or a change in religious beliefs (for example, Alexander 1979). More recently, a change in how the human body is ontologically understood is seen as the more likely underlying cause (Harris et al. 2013b).

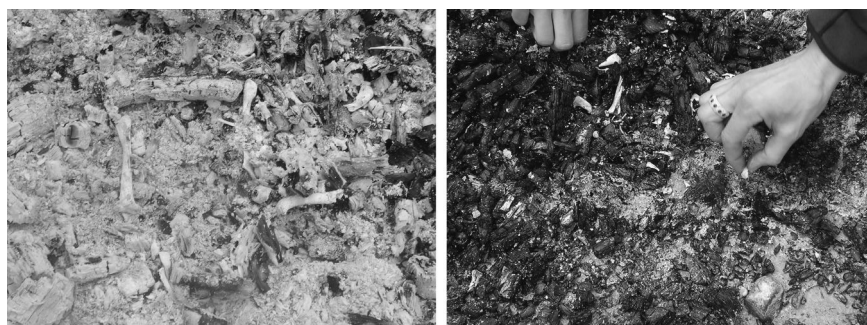


Figure 4.3 Cremated bones and pyre remains in an experimental cremation of a pig in Hallstatt 2006, before and after rain (© photos: Doris Pany-Kucera)

After several hundred years during which cremation prevailed, the early Iron Age saw the re-emergence of inhumation burials in central Europe. The transition back to inhumation follows interesting regional and chronological patterns (Rebay-Salisbury in press-c), and in many places, inhumation and cremation are practiced side by side. The way in which body treatment is linked to other variables of identity, such as gender, age and status, is underexplored, as clear links are difficult to establish; it is often a variety of factors that lead to the choice of different burial practices.

Very broadly, the re-introduction of inhumation seems to follow a west to east trajectory. The earliest instances of a transition to inhumation can be observed west of the Rhine, in eastern France, and on the western Swiss plateau, where inhumation had been practiced since the late Bronze Age (Wamser 1975). In fact, inhumation is not the only factor contributing to a 'Hallstattisation' from the west; several elements such as the use of iron and wagons in graves are also first traceable in the western parts of the West Hallstatt zone (Trachsel 2004: 328). The practice of building burial mounds, an important indicator of social stratification, also spreads from a ninth century BC core between Burgundy and the French Jura, Hessen and north Bavaria towards areas further west, north and east (Pare 2003). Within this core area, the western groups practiced inhumation, while the eastern groups in the area along the Rhine practiced cremation (Pare 2003 fig. 4). Early inhumations in Germany cluster in the upper Rhine Valley around Breisach and Colmar, in the Hegau and in the Middle Alb (Stöllner 2012: 558, fig. 4). Other areas such as Bavaria (Kossack 1959), Bavarian Swabia (Dietrich 1998), the upper Rhine (Aufdermauer 1963) and the upper Neckar valley (Reim 1990) do not show a consistent transition at all and cannot be reliably connected to a chronological development (Kurz 1997: 119).

In the West Hallstatt provinces depositing the body in burial mounds that cluster in groups typically of about ten to forty in number, and rarely more than one hundred, can be seen as the norm (Spindler 1983: 92). The burial mounds often contain multiple individuals, and secondary burials are frequent. The transition from cremation to inhumation has traditionally been seen as a marker for the transition from the early to the late Hallstatt period (Ha C to D, c. 620 BC), or even in terms of a 'Celtic revolution' (Zürn 1987: 25–27), but in fact cremation continued to be practiced throughout the whole of the Hallstatt period. Small cremation graves, comprising inauspicious, small pits with scattered cremations or urns and few, if any, grave goods, may be found between burial mounds – often overlooked in antiquarian excavations – or in separate cemeteries (Fries 2007). They are difficult to date as most can only be assigned to the Hallstatt period in general, but there are examples of graves securely dated to both Ha C and Ha D. In some areas, anthropological investigations of the cremated remains have demonstrated a high count of sub-adults, but these tendencies cannot be extrapolated over the whole of the area (Fries 2007: 25). Overall, there are more graves dating to Ha D than C in the West Hallstatt provinces, and women and children seem to be underrepresented, especially in the early period. The 'small cremation graves' may account for this difference (Müller-Scheeßel 2007: 8), as the vast number of

graves overall leaves no reason to suspect that not everybody had been granted a formal burial.

Early Hallstatt cremation graves continue Urnfield traditions with new pottery types (Kurz 1997: 122–123, Spindler 1983: 187). The bodies are typically cremated in their dress, and metal dress elements are picked out along with the cremated bones and deposited in a ceramic urn, an organic container or scattered in the grave pit. Pyre remains are often also placed in graves along with large sets of vessels. Hallstatt cremation graves tend to include few metal grave goods, but the long sword, which in the late Bronze Age is deposited in rivers and bogs but not in graves, became included in the grave assemblages from the Early Hallstatt period onwards (Kurz 1997: 129). The sword bearers seem to be the first to take up inhumation as a burial rite (although other graves may just not have enough datable objects). They are frequently buried in separate burial mounds, disconnected from the community and underlining their striving for exclusivity (Stöllner 2012: 559). The elite spearheads this innovation, while for some time yet cremation remains the norm for average graves before most people ‘convert’ to inhumation (Spindler 1983: 186). Late Hallstatt burials are typically inhumations under large burial mounds, with few or no ceramic vessels but ample metal grave goods, which include dress fittings and jewellery as well as daggers and spearheads (Stöllner 2012: 551).

One of the largest and best-known Hallstatt burial mounds in Germany is the Magdalenenberg near Villingen (Spindler 1971, Spindler 1972, Spindler 1973, Spindler 1976b, Spindler 1977, Spindler 1980). Its central wooden chamber, dendrochronologically dated to 616 BC, early in Ha D (Trachsel 2004: 149), had been robbed, so research focussed on excavation, analysis and interpretation of the 128 secondary burials dating to a quite narrow chronological margin between 616 and 575 BC, encompassing no more than two to three generations (Trachsel 2004: 150). The burial mound can be understood as a bi-ritual cemetery, as it includes both cremations and inhumations, although the latter are much more common. The graves 14, 22, 28 and 40 were single cremation graves covered by stone packing. The remains were deposited in a grave pit in what must have been an organic container with few grave goods (one grave contained an iron belt buckle and ring with traces of the funerary fire, one grave contained a miniature vessel, one a large vessel with conical neck and another grave fragments of a large vessel). Anthropological analysis confirmed one male individual and suggests two further male individuals; one had no diagnostic criteria preserved. All were adults between 20 and 60 years of age (Kühl 1977). Johannes Müller (1994) categorises the cremations in status groups 3 and 4, the lowest social ranks.

Graves that contain both cremations and inhumations are particularly interesting at the Magdalenenberg, as they reveal details about the relationships between the individuals. The bi-ritual grave 56 (Fig. 4.4) contained a female inhumation with an elaborate set of jewellery and dress elements of amber, bone, lignite and bronze, including pins for a veil, and arm and leg rings; on the left side of her body, between the forearm and the hip, a cremation was placed in a birch bark container with a bronze pin, a small bronze ring and bronze belt fittings (Spindler 1973:

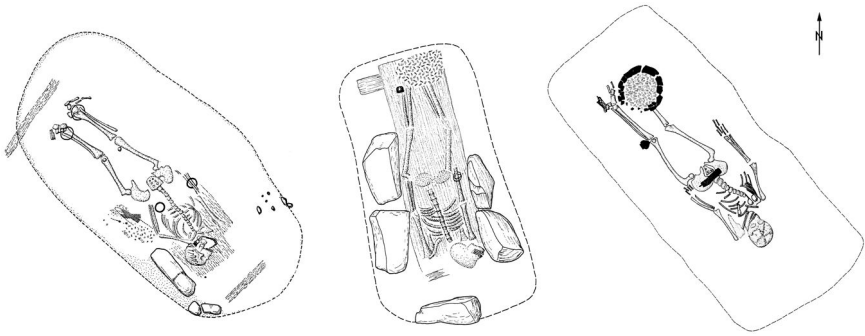


Figure 4.4 Bi-ritual graves 56, 75 and 106 from the Magdalenenberg near Villingen, expressing different relationships between the inhumed and cremated body (after Spindler 1973: pl. 2, pl. 37, Spindler 1976b: pl. 42)

19). The individual was a child around 14 years of age (Kühl 1977: 126) and of unknown sex. The fact that the inhumed woman was between 20 and 40 years old at death makes it just about possible that she was buried with her own child. The way the cremated remains were placed next to the woman's body shows an intimate, perhaps protective, relationship. This is different in the other bi-ritual graves: Grave 75, the inhumation of a male individual, was buried with a miniature vessel and an organic, rectangular container at his feet that contained the remains of two cremated individuals, a woman of about 30 years of age and a 10- to 11-year-old child (Kühl 1977: 126–131). Grave 106 (Fig. 4.4), another male inhumation, had the urn of a child less than seven years old at his feet. In both these cases, the difference in grave equipment and the placing of the cremation suggests the expression of a subordinate role of the cremated individuals in the grave.

The Hohmichele (Riek 1962), one of 36 burial mounds of the Speckhau necropolis associated with the Heuneburg, included eight inhumation and five cremation burials. Burial Mound 17 and 18 of the Speckhau group have recently been investigated by Bettina Arnold and Matthew L. Murray (Arnold and Murray 2002, Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2001, Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2003). The central chamber of Burial Mound 17 measured 5 by 5 m and contained the cremation of a man and inhumation of a woman along the eastern wall of the chamber in a south–north orientation. The chamber had been looted, but the man was found with the remnants of an iron spearhead and knife. The woman was found with bronze earrings, a bronze pin, a bronze-studded leather belt, a bronze and iron *fibula* and bronze arm rings (Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2001: 69). At least three secondary inhumation burials were found in the mantle of the burial mound, which was used from c. 600/540 BC until c. 450/400 BC (Arnold 2012: 106). The cremation grave in the centre of Burial Mound 18 included the remains of a large, square funerary pyre measuring 3 by 3 m. Radiocarbon dates between 1390 and 1010 cal. BC derived from the central cremation grave were much older than

expected and can possibly be explained by the old wood effect (Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2003: 81); the use-life of the burial mound spanned from late Hallstatt C (640/600 BC) to Hallstatt D3/La Tène A (450/400 BC, Arnold 2012: 106).

The cemetery of Schirndorf in Bavaria (Hughes 1999, Hughes 2001, Stroh 1979, Stroh 1988, Stroh 2000a, Stroh 2000b) is another of the few almost fully excavated Hallstatt cemeteries that include both inhumations and cremations. It spans the whole duration of the Hallstatt period and includes more than 100 burial mounds and about 300 individuals (Müller-Scheeßel 2005a: 341). The burial mounds include wooden chambers, stone covers and stone linings; graves are densely packed, and the sequence of burials is difficult to reconstruct due to the complexity of secondary burials and grave extensions. The oldest burials are often male cremations with large sets of ceramic vessels, but inhumations soon become equally common; cremation and inhumation are practiced side by side (Müller-Scheeßel 2005a: 341). 'Small cremation graves' occur at the periphery of the mounds; they are often women and children with few, if any, grave goods (Müller-Scheeßel 2005a: 341). Secondary burials are both cremations and inhumations. The wooden chamber of Mound 33, for instance, includes an inhumation along the west wall and clusters of cremated remains in the north and east of the chamber; cremated remains of two individuals were found over the head of the inhumed individual (Müller-Scheeßel 2005a: fig. 5). The primary inhumation was almost certainly an adult male, but bones of a juvenile individual were found in the chamber as well. The cremated individuals could be classified as an adult, perhaps female, and a juvenile; it remains unclear, however, if the deposition of the cremated bones of two individuals were one or two separate events (Hughes 1999: 395–397). Secondary burials may be interred into the same chambers; if they were still intact, older individuals may be pushed aside and older grave goods smashed in the process. Other secondary burials are new constructions on top of older monuments. Nils Müller-Scheeßel (2005a) observed a trend during the course of the Hallstatt period towards less effort in grave construction and equipping buried individuals with objects, but, at the same time, a trend towards greater equality – more people of all age groups and genders are included in the community the cemetery represents.

The cemetery of Riedenburg-Untereggersberg, Germany (Nikulka 1998), shows similarities to Schirndorf in the grave architecture. There 127 individuals were buried in 95 graves placed in 84 architecturally distinguishable grave structures, of which 33 had wooden chambers (Schumann 2015: 56). Here, too, the chronological succession of burials is difficult to ascertain but seems to cover the whole Hallstatt period. Stone-lined burial mounds were frequently re-opened and expanded; subsequent burials were added to the cemetery in many different kinds of ways, including in existing burial mounds, adjacent to and between burial mounds and, after levelling the ground, over old burial mounds. Multiple interments in grave chambers can often not be securely distinguished from secondary additions and small, inauspicious cremation graves are common too. The age and sex of the buried individual, as well as chronological trends, were revealed to be fundamental for the mode of burial (Nikulka 2004). As in other cemeteries in the

Altmühl Valley, namely Dietfurt-Tennisplatz, Dietfurt-Tankstelle, Riedenburg-Emmerthal, Riedenburg-Deising, Kelheim-Am Urnenfeld and Beilngries-Im Ried-Ost, recently summarised by Robert Schumann (Schumann 2015: 106–107), there is a clear chronological trend from cremation to inhumation during the Hallstatt period, but social concerns play a role in the choice of burial practice too. Among the inhumation burials, male individuals prevail; amongst cremation burials, the sex ratio is balanced. Adult individuals tend to occupy the primary places within grave structures, and mature individuals are particularly frequently interred.

The cemetery of Hallstatt, Austria, occupying a somewhat intermediate position between the west and the east, has early been recognised as a ‘bi-ritual’ cemetery. The documentation of Johann Georg Ramsauer included a clear differentiation between inhumations and cremations (*‘Skelette, Leichenbraende’* [sic]), and illustrations for about a third of the graves, particularly the very large and rich cremations and inhumations in peculiar positions (Hodson 1990: 5, Kern 2009b: 117). The illustrations include partial cremations, in which part of the body seems inhumed and another part cremated, but they constitute intercutting graves with separate sets of grave goods (which were numbered accordingly at the time of excavation).

Inhumations and cremations are represented almost equally in Hallstatt (53 per cent inhumation, 47 per cent cremation; Hodson 1990: 76, Pany 2009: 136). Bodies are usually inhumed on their backs, with the head in the west looking towards the east (or, topographically speaking, from the high valley to the lake). Cremations are normally scattered, with dress elements placed on top of the cremated body and other grave goods arranged around the cremation; they come in different sizes and levels of equipment. Very few individuals were deposited in urns, in which case the graves are inconspicuous and consist only of the urn and body (Pany 2009: 129–130). According to the data published in Hodson’s analysis (1990: 76, table 12; 78, fig. 18), male graves are more likely to be cremations: the ratio of cremations to inhumation is 56:44 for male graves, and 45:55 for female graves. However, of the 926 graves, 478 graves could be classified as female, but only 294 as male, an imbalance which could easily account for the difference. Both inhumation and cremation graves are chronologically spread over the whole duration of the cemetery. According to Hodson (1990), 290 graves belong to the early cemetery phase (Ha C, 800 to 600 BC), 170 to the later phase (Ha D, 600 to 475/450 BC), with 466 that could only be dated to the Hallstatt period more generally. In Ha C, 166 cremations can be juxtaposed with 124 inhumations, in Ha D 96 cremations with 74 inhumations. This means that the ratio of cremation to inhumation of the datable graves remains almost unchanged (57:43 and 56:44) as the Iron Age progressed. A link of burial rite to status differences is the most credible for the cemetery of Hallstatt. Seventy per cent of metal vessels, which are thought to constitute considerable wealth, stem from cremation graves (Kern 2009a: 129, Urban 2000: 238). In Hodson’s analysis, more than half of all male inhumations are buried with only one functional artefact class, whereas the majority of cremation graves have two or more; females tend to be associated with slightly more

artefact classes in general due to their more elaborate dress, but the pattern is repeated. If we take the number of functional artefact classes as a status indicator, cremations are indeed linked to higher status in Hallstatt.

The cemetery of Hallstatt, however, represents a rather unusual community. Located in a high valley that is difficult to access, it is intrinsically linked to salt-mining activities, for which a seasonal rhythm is presumed (Reschreiter and Kowarik 2009: 58). The climate in the mines is more stable in winter, whereas subsistence and craft activities requiring daylight would optimally be carried out in the summer. If we assume that people die on a fairly regular basis independent of the seasons (an invalid assumption for many reasons, cf. Rebay-Salisbury in prep), perhaps we can link cremations and inhumations to seasonality. This link could work on a variety of levels, practical as well as ideological and belief based, but at present, there no pollen data are available from the graves to establish a firm link to seasonality. The following (Fig. 4.5) summarises the hypothetical link that

	<i>Summer</i>	<i>Winter</i>
treatment	body has to be treated more quickly as it decays fast	treatment of the body can be postponed
cremation/ inhumation		– frozen ground may impede digging grave pits – firewood may be in short supply – light and heat of the funerary pyre has additional effects in the cold and dark season
dress elements and jewellery	– summer dress may require fewer dress fittings – certain jewellery items may be on display more prominently (e.g., sheet bronze belts, upper arm rings, etc.)	– winter dress might have more layers, requiring more dress fittings (e.g., pins, <i>fibulae</i>) – certain jewellery items may not be worn under heavy clothes (e.g., leg rings under boots)
other objects	functional objects might relate to seasonal work, e.g., sickles, pruning knives (harvest)	functional objects might relate to seasonal work, e.g., axes for cutting wood and maintaining woodland
food	– cooler serving temperatures may be preferred – choice of foodstuff may include more variety of freshly gathered fruit and nuts (resulting in a variety of smaller serving bowls and platters in graves) – meat of young animals (e.g., lamb)	– textile work (spinning, weaving, sewing) – warmer serving temperatures may be preferred – choice of foodstuff may include more stews and soups (resulting in large cooking vessels in graves) – meat of seasonally slaughtered animals (e.g., pig)

Figure 4.5 Hypothetical link between seasonality and funerary activities

may exist between seasonality and funerary practices. Not only could the season affect the ways in which the bodies were treated, but also the choice of objects put in the grave. In winter, the frozen ground makes digging graves difficult, which is why in historical times, the dead were often stored on wooden biers in a shed until the spring in Alpine areas (Hartinger 1982). Cremated individuals are easier to store and transport. It is unclear where the dead were cremated, as there is no firm confirmation of funerary pyres at the cemetery itself. Ideologically, the dead might require the light and warmth of a funerary pyre during the dark seasons. Differences in the grave goods for cremations and inhumations could be related to seasonality as well. More variety in dress fittings, for instance, is required for more layers of clothing in the winter (if the funerary dress is not entirely different from everyday clothing). That the foodstuff put into graves and used in funerary feasts must relate to seasonality and availability is almost obvious, but this could have a knock-on effect on the vessel forms chosen as grave goods. Furthermore, the preferred serving temperature in the summer and winter might differ, which could again affect vessel forms and materials.

In the eastern Hallstatt area, cremation remains the norm during the whole of the early Iron Age until the transition to the late Iron Age. There are, however, some notable exceptions. In the northeastern Kalenderberg group, where influences from and contacts with the West Hallstatt provinces are plentiful, a small percentage of people were buried uncremated. At Statzendorf, Austria (Rebay 2006), for example, of the 373 graves in total were 38 inhumations. There is little consistency in the way they were buried; 14 were oriented east–west (unlike in the western provinces, where south–north is most common), but orientations in all other cardinal directions also occur. Most lie on their backs, but some on their sides. Little anthropological data are available to investigate gender or age-led trends, but a comparison of the social index value to the burial type showed that both among the burials without any grave goods and the burials with high-status values a higher percentage of inhumations occurred than expected. The rich graves are almost exclusively females with elaborate stone grave structures and sets of pottery, as well as dress elements that suggest a connection to the west. It is possible that these were women from further up the Danube that were integrated into the community at Statzendorf; after death, they ended up treated according to their native customs.

In the northeastern Hallstatt area, inhumations seem generally more common for women and children at first (Kaus 1973: 335, Nebelsick 1997: 33), as the cemeteries of Grafenwörth (Lochner 1988) and Inzersdorf a.d. Traisen (Schneidhofer 2006), both in Austria, suggest. Infants and children are commonly deposited as secondary burials on top of a cremation. At Süttő, Hungary, for example, excavations of a monumental mound revealed a very complex burial, built on top of a pyre site with the remains of multiple cremated people. A stone chamber with *dromos* was covered by a roof construction, and on top of the roof, the body of a child was deposited in north–west to south–east orientation. Along with the skeleton of the child, parts of cattle, pig, sheep and dog were found, along with three pairs of horse bits (Kmet'ova 2001, Patek 1993: 124–127, Vadász 1983). The context has led researchers to believe that the child might have been sacrificed (for example,

Egg 1996c: 65), but it might just as well have been a secondary burial. Male inhumations, on the other hand, are almost always dated to the Hallstatt/La Tène transition, such as at the cemetery of Sopron-Krautacker, Hungary (Jerem 1987).

Influences from the east may also play a role in the uptake of inhumation in the Kalenderberg area. Grave 2 from Retz, Austria (Teržan 1998: 515), dating to Ha C2, is a south–east to north–west oriented inhumation found crouched on the right side. Of the finds associated with the skeleton, the horse gear and axe are of Scythian types, whereas the pottery points to the Lusatian area in the north. At the northern fringe of the Hallstatt province, cremation is dominant, while at the eastern fringe, nomadic groups such as the Alföld and Transylvanian group (Kromer 1986, Teržan 1998) use both cremation and inhumation. The cemetery of Chotín, Slovakia, for instance, includes 121 cremations and 247 inhumations, one grave that includes both an inhumation and a cremation, one inhumation with a horse and eight individual horse burials. Mikuláš Dušek mentions that five inhumations had traces of fire above the skeleton and one in the pit, which caused the skeleton to char (138A, Dušek 1966: 10). This might suggest a merging of cremation and inhumation on a conceptual level. The bi-ritual nature of the cemeteries of the Alföld group is most often explained through ethnicity. Cremations are considered to be the local, older rite, whereas inhumation is seen as the rite of the Scythian immigrants (for example, Kemenczei 2003: 180).

South of the Kalenderberg group, in Alpine areas and at the eastern edge of the Alps, Hallstatt communities practice cremation almost exclusively (a few inhumations appear at the end of the Hallstatt period, for instance, at Rifnik, cf. Teržan 1990: 56). Scattered cremations, urns and the pyre sites as such constitute graves; at Frög, for instance, at a ratio of 57:37:6 per cent (Tomedi 2002: 101). Elite burials follow a slightly different chronological trajectory than the ones in the West Hallstatt provinces (Egg 1996c). They connect more closely to the Urnfield period and start at the beginning of Ha C; they peak in Ha D1 but cease shortly thereafter. In the west, by contrast, the richest graves date to Ha D2 and 3. Princely burials often include the remains of more than one individual, and also cremated animal bones; pyre remains are frequently found under or in the immediate vicinity of the grave constructions. The Kröllkogel at Kleinklein, Austria, for example, situated in a cemetery encompassing several hundred burial mounds, contained a stone chamber measuring eight by eight metres plus a twelve-metre-long *dromos* (Egg and Kramer 2005: 9, Egg and Kramer 2013). The chamber contained the cremated remains of four individuals, and cremated animal bones were scattered in both the chamber and the *dromos* (Grill and Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2013). The sword and arrowheads, an impressive set of weaponry, as well as feasting and drinking equipment in bronze and ceramic, were arranged along the chamber walls. Noteworthy are the bronze body armour and two (left) hand masks and a face mask (Plate 13, Egg and Kramer 2013). At least three horses as well as remains from cattle, pig and sheep/goat could be identified among the burnt animal bones. The temperature the animals were exposed to was slightly lower than for the human bodies; Egg and Kramer therefore reconstruct a funerary pyre in which the human bodies were placed on top and the animal corpses were stacked at the sides (Egg and

Kramer 2005: 10). The offering of burnt animals is, of course, a common theme in the eastern Alps and in the Bavarian foothills, and is documented from Alpine cremation sanctuaries (for example, Krämer 1966, Lang 2006, Steiner 2010).

A notable exception to the use of cremation for burial in the eastern Hallstatt provinces is the Carniola group in Slovenia, for which inhumations are the norm (Gabrovec 1999). Large burial mounds are built in the vicinity of major hilltop settlements. They are not necessarily constructed for the primary grave of an individual, but for communities or family clans numbering into the hundreds. If a central burial is present in these mounds, it does not differ from the others that are arranged radially in the mound's mantle (Egg 1996c: 58). The cemetery of Kapiteljska njiva, Novo Mesto, Slovenia (Knez 1993b, Križ 1997b, Križ 2000, Križ 2006), for instance, consists of 10 mounds. At least in part, it was erected over a late Bronze Age cremation cemetery dating to around 800–700 BC (Ljubljana IIa and b, equivalent to Ha B3/C1, Križ 1997b: 23). Inhumation graves frequently cut the older cremations and metal finds, so broken pieces of large cinerary urns as well as cremated remains end up in the fill of inhumation graves. A direct continuation of the late Bronze Age cemetery other than the same use of space is therefore doubtful. The early Iron Age occupation, however, starts around 650 BC (Podzemelj II, equivalent to the end of Ha C1), which does not leave a large chronological gap. Hiatus or not, the dramatic change of burial practices in this spot marks a clear departure from old traditions.

In summary, inhumation in the West Hallstatt provinces first seems to be chosen as a marker of exclusivity. The materiality and dimensions of the dead body are suitable to choreograph the deposition of objects such as swords, wagon parts and other high-status objects spatially. Rather than ending the display with the spectacle of the funerary pyre, the body's presence continues in the grave, where personal objects remain directly related. The transformation of the body into another substance gives way to the continued display of status arranged around the body, but the transformative element of the funerary ritual might be shifted to other practices such as wrapping. The transition to inhumation is led by men with weapons in the west and soon emulated by all segments of society. We might be able to observe cycles of elite fashion, imitation by commoners and reactions to these by further differentiation, including via noble understatement (such as observed in the context of Athenian elite burials of the fifth and fourth century, cf. Morris 1992). At the end of this development, in the late Hallstatt period (Ha D3), the elite includes more women, and the male elite are no longer buried with weapons but choose different ways to mark exclusivity (Dehn, Egg and Lehnert 2005: 235, Abb. 152, Abb. 153). In the eastern Hallstatt provinces, on the other hand, cremation remains the norm during the Hallstatt period until the transition to inhumation in the La Tène period. Earlier inhumations can most often be traced to influences from the western provinces or the Scythian east. Again, a gender- and age-led pattern emerges, but this time, it seems to be the women and children who are first inhumed, whereas male adults continue the tradition of cremation. Some of these early inhumed individuals are well equipped with grave goods, but none reach elite level. At the site of Hallstatt itself, which for many reasons

represents a rather unusual community, it is the high-status males who emphasise continuity and tradition through the persistent use of cremation. Carniola saw the most radical departure from old traditions around 650 BC with an entirely new form of burial, in which people were inhumed in large community mounds. A second wave of change occurs during the fifth century BC, the early La Tène phase. Elite burials have a last heyday with burials such as Glauberg, Germany (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002, Bartel et al. 1998), Reinheim, Germany (Echt 1999), or some graves from the Dürrenberg, Austria (Moser 2010). But generally, burials under mounds give way to inhumations in large cemeteries (for example, Mannersdorf, Pottenbrunn, Austria, Rams 2000, Rams 2011).

The pattern of transition from cremation to inhumation during the early Iron Age in central Europe is, as we have seen, quite complicated. The human body reappears as the focus of status display and negotiation, and although some aspects of this practice fall easily into place around the intact body that has not been transformed by cremation, it can also be done around cremated remains. If we understand the transition to inhumation as innovation within a network, we might understand why inhumation is taken up more enthusiastically at first in the west. Innovation can be triggered by internal and external drivers, often a combination of the two, but crucially it relies on the context – the network – in which information flows, as well as the social status of innovators and early adopters (see Section 2.2).

After around 600 BC, the West Hallstatt area had access to a wider and more diverse network. At that time, traffic on major trade routes from the Mediterranean northwards shifted from the eastern Alpine fringe to the Rhone valley – the foundation of the Greek colony Massalia is but one symptom of this development. This network is most often thought of in terms of economics and prestige goods transfer (for example, Sherratt 1993, Sherratt and Sherratt 1993), but clearly extended into the ideological and religious domains, bringing a diversity of new ideas and an openness to innovation. Eastern elites were cut off from these new networks that developed farther west, were probably less exposed to new ideas and might have had trouble maintaining their lifestyle under economic pressure and ever-changing relationships with their neighbours. The route taken to justify power and display status by eastern communities is maintaining old traditions – a reaction that might be understood in terms of a traditional backlash. Communities clung to localised customs, used heirloom objects in graves and continued to use cremation as the prevailing burial rite. Using this model, the Carniola burial mounds with inhumations might be explained as an effort to distinguish themselves from eastern groups, with whom they had intensive exchanges.

4.3 The body and objects

The role of grave goods is a complicated issue and cannot be pre-defined, but has to be determined contextually (Ekengren 2013). Objects have to be investigated in terms of why and how they are used in graves to understand their meaning. This is not an easy task, and although some objects may be easier to read than

others, multiple meanings may be attached to each object or emerge from the ritual practices in which they are used. Renate Meyer-Orlac (Meyer-Orlac 1982) differentiates between three categories of objects in graves: the first is that of objects associated with the dead body, including clothes, wrappings and adornments. The second category comprises 'grave gifts', objects added for several reasons, including that they were the deceased's possessions, were rendered polluted or taboo through contact with the deceased or the event of death, or they were intended for use by the deceased, practically or symbolically. Further options for interpretation include that objects represent the mourning community or are deposited to gain prestige, express grief or as a visitor's present. They may be meant as a gift to the deceased or for members of the community that had died earlier, or objects to ward off evil (and prevent the return of the deceased). The third category comprises features of the tomb, including furnishing and decoration. This is particularly relevant when graves are constructed as an analogy of houses.

Starting from the body, it is useful to consider its appearance in life. Physical appearance is key in signalling and communication identity, even without words. A person's appearance is composed of the physical body, body modifications and alterations, and further additions, including dress and jewellery (Bergerbrant, Jørgensen and Fossøy 2013). In addition, a person's gait and movements, as well as objects that are habitually carried, can contribute to the way people define and accentuate their corporeal reality. In this sense, objects can be understood as extending the body and the scope of its capability and reach and become part of the cognitive system (Malafouris 2008). After death, some traces of physical appearance remain or are left unchanged; others are embellished, changed, added to and subtracted from by the burying community.

Analytically, it is further useful to distinguish the elements that make up a clothed person. Marie Louise Stig Sørensen (Sørensen 1997) differentiates cloth, the textile itself, clothing, the garments cut and made from cloth and costume, which includes the entirety of clothing, dress fittings and ornaments. Textiles are rarely preserved in graves, but their quality, colours and patterns already encode meaning. In the Villanovian cemetery of Verucchio (von Eles 2002, Stauffer 2002), for example, red textiles were found in high-status male graves, suggesting that the idea of this colour signalling power and status goes back a long way. Textiles found in the salt mines of Hallstatt (Plate 9, Grömer 2016, Grömer et al. 2013) demonstrate the high standard of spinning, weaving, dyeing and patterning techniques. The patterns include stripes, block checks, chevron, diamond and swastika motifs, as well as meanders, which have parallels on contemporary pottery, but are also depicted on representations of dress. Patterns on ceramics have been found to have regional significance (Brosseder 2006) as well as encoding other levels of nested identities, including differences within burying communities. The emphasis on patterning in ceramics and the preserved textiles makes it likely that cloths played a major part in communicating identity.

The next level up in the appearance of a person is clothing. The cut of the different dress elements is even more difficult to reconstruct from burial evidence, as often only textile fragments are preserved, but again, pictorial sources can

complement our knowledge. Dress fittings and jewellery completing the costume are, in contrast, a frequent occurrence in graves. The particular combination and location of the objects on the (inhumed) body may reveal how they were used, how they were combined with clothes and what kind of appearance they produced. Dress elements in early Iron Age graves are most often made of bronze, but particular rich graves include gold objects, and iron is used to replace bronze for some object types. The succession of materials over time could be demonstrated through the horizontal stratigraphy at the cemetery of Statzendorf, Austria. At this site, bronze harp *fibulae* (*Harfenfibeln*) are used in the older cemetery part in the north, and the same type occurs in iron in the southern section of the cemetery (Rebay 2006: 168). Although the basic form and style of the artefact remain the same, both the production technology and the visual impact must have differed considerably.

4.3.1 *Head*

A multitude of different shapes of hats, caps and helmets are attested for men from pictorial sources. Hats made of organic materials do not often leave any traces in graves, as they normally do not have any metal parts. Fragments of a hat made of birch bark from Hochdorf and Dürrenberg Grave 352 (Moser 2010: 56–60) seem to indicate a conical shape, such as shown on the stele from Hirschlanden (Zürn 1964a). Caps of fur, in beret and conical shapes from the salt mines of Hallstatt (Popa 2009), might function primarily as protective gear, and it is not clear if these types of hats were commonly worn outside the mines. Helmets are occasionally found in graves in the southeastern Hallstatt area, especially when the warrior identity of the deceased is particularly emphasised. They come in a surprising range of varieties in the early Iron Age (Egg 1986b), including wickerwork helmets plated with bronze calottes (for example, Smrjeta, Slovenia), double-crested bronze helmets (for example, Kleinklein, Austria) and helmets of the Negau type (for example, Novo Mesto-Kandija, Slovenia). These are interesting as they create a different outline of a person, depending on whether viewed from the front or in profile. The appearance of a person wearing a helmet is further changed by including crests, which, according to the images, might reach far on to the warrior's back. Four different types of helmets are shown in the parade on the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64).

For women, virtually all depictions indicate that a woman's head and hair were typically covered by a veil. Veiling is, as contemporary political discussions indicate, a significant alteration of appearance. Small bronze pins are sometimes recovered from around the face of a woman in a grave and indicate the wearing of a headdress, a hair band or veil. A particularly good example is Grave 56 from the Magdalenberg, Germany (Spindler 1973: 18–21), in which 16 bronze pins with bronze and amber heads were arranged in a symmetrical pattern with alternating materials. In this case, the buried individual was a woman of adult age (20 to 40 years at death), and the co-buried child (which may be her own) might point to her status as a married woman, perhaps a woman who has already given birth. Lenerz-de Wilde suggested a differentiation of married and unmarried

women on the basis of their headdress (Lenerz-de Wilde 1989) for the Magdalenenberg. If pins and rings located at the ears and temples really indicate marital status, this means that a third to a quarter of all women remained unmarried (Burmeister 2000: 90). The combination of objects pointing to a specific headdress is most common on the late Hallstatt Magdalenenberg, but extends into southwestern Germany more generally, though in other areas bronze objects in graves are less clearly connected to headdresses. Rings made of sheet gold appear to have been braided into long hair at the Dürrenberg near Hallein, Austria (Moser 2010: 42–46), and Grave 353 even contained an elaborate headdress composed of several sheet gold balls. How and if these pieces of jewellery were combined with a veil or covered by it remained unclear.

Bronze rings, often made of a bent double wire, are commonly found in the ear and temple region in women's graves, but are also very common items in East Hallstatt cremation graves. They, too, are markers of age and gender, and are commonly depicted (for example, on the conical vessel from Sopron-Váris, Fig. 7.2, Gallus 1934: pl. 16.2).

4.3.2 Neck

Different types of necklaces are found in early Iron Age graves, including solid bronze, open rings and string necklaces with beads made of glass, amber, jet and other materials. Multiple items may be found on the neck of one individual. Solid neck rings are used for both men and women, with regional differences. For example, neck rings are typical female items in northern Württemberg (incl. the Magdalenenberg) during early Ha D, but they are not gender specific in southern Württemberg at the same time; in late Ha D rich men wear gold neck rings (Burmeister 2000: 71, Burmeister 2003).

Colourful necklaces composed of beads are typically found in women's graves, although single beads appear in male graves from Ha D2 in Württemberg. They

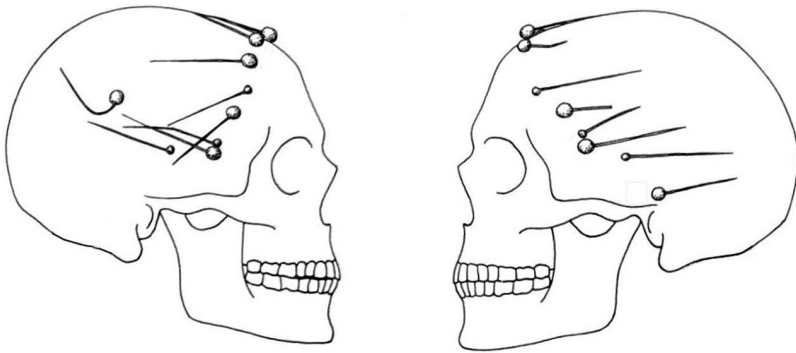


Figure 4.6 Pins arranged around the face in Grave 56 from the Magdalenenberg (after Spindler 1973: 19, fig. 2)

are further an attribute of girls and younger women; women over 40 are no longer associated with these colourful items. This led Ludwig Pauli to believe that they might have had an apotropaic and protective character for women before and of childbearing age (Pauli 1975). Beads of glass and amber are also a characteristically female item in the northeast (Rebay 2006: 194). In the southeastern Carniola group, glass and amber beads were particularly abundant so that a local production centre is assumed. The most common colour for glass beads is blue, followed by white and yellow; different glass colours are also combined in multi-coloured beads with wave or dot-and-circle motifs. Even beads in the shape of ram's heads were made, both in glass and in amber (Križ 1997a: 37). Skeletal preservation is extremely poor in this area, so it is difficult to assess how they were associated with the appearance of men and women; it seems, however, that sets of beads are more common in female graves. The co-occurrence of bead necklaces and weapons is commonly interpreted to indicate the double grave of a woman and man.

4.3.3 *Torso*

Dress elements such as dress pins and *fibulae* are commonly found on the upper body, including the shoulder region, and were used to fasten garments. The types of garments are difficult to reconstruct from the position of dress elements alone. In addition, we might not only assume different layers of clothes, perhaps depending on the number of items a person owned or the season of death, but also wrapping in funerary shrouds and textiles, which might have been fastened with the same types of objects. On the basis of the depictions, it is safe to assume tunics of varying lengths and arm lengths for men, as well as different shapes of skirts and trousers; several finds of trousers, garments covering both legs separately, are known from the bogs of northern Europe (Grömer 2016). That they were also used in central Europe is evidenced by images sketched on a vessel from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Gallus 1934: pl. 9), and a bronze belt plate from Molnik, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: fig. 7).

Women's clothing is often reconstructed as a *peplos* (Grömer 2016), a long, tubular cloth folded at the shoulders and fastened with a pair of dress pins of *fibulae*. The top of the tube was folded down and might appear as a separate item. The *peplos* may be held together at the waist with a belt. Cloaks are also known from imagery for both men and women. They are essentially large pieces of cloth worn over another layer of clothing, fastened at the neck or the shoulder with one dress pin or *fibula*. A nice example of a floor-length cloak was discovered at Mitterkirchen, Grave X/2 (Pertlwieser 1987), a double burial of a man and a woman. The woman wore a leather cloak fitted with thousands of bronze buttons sewn on to the upper body section and the section below the knees.

The way *fibulae* are worn might be age and gender specific in certain regions or places at certain times. In late Ha D Württemberg, for example, women generally wear three *fibulae*, whereas a pair worn on the shoulders characterises boys from the age of 10 and men; further, *fibulae* on the Magdalenenberg tend to be slightly larger for men than for women (Burmeister 2000: 71, 91). On the Dürrenberg near Hallein men and women wear the same types of *fibulae*, but often only one piece

(Moser 2010: 50). Women have a pair on the upper body and an additional one on the right shoulder – to fasten a cloak or a second layer of clothing (Moser 2010: 38). Double-spiral dress pins, distributed in the Inn-Salzach area in early Ha D, are not gender specific per se, but, whereas a count of one or two can be paired with weapons, three are only found in female graves (Trebsche, Pollak and Gruber 2007: 74–75). Interestingly, although they are sometimes arranged on the upper body (where they seem not particularly practical), they are also found deposited next to the body, on wooden boards or in wooden chests. In the northeastern Hallstatt area, the practice of cremation makes an investigation of (gendered) dress items even more challenging. It seems, however, that dress pins were used by both men and women to fasten garments at the shoulder, whereas *fibulae*, especially the common *Harfenfibel*, are more commonly a component of the female dress (Nebelsick 1997, Rebay 2006: 194).

Belts structure the appearance of the body by dividing it in the middle. Textile and leather belts that do not survive are sometimes evidenced by metal hooks and rings used for fastening; sheet bronze belts and composite belts made of sheet bronze or iron plates and various layers of leather and textiles are increasingly used throughout the Hallstatt period. Sheet bronze belts, leather belts with bronze applications and bronze belt hooks are, in late Hallstatt Württemberg, restricted to women of adult age, but in late Ha D, men started to wear them as well (Burmeister 2000: 89). On the Dürrenberg, both men and women wear belts during the Hallstatt period (Moser 2010: 40), a pattern that continues farther east. Belt plates from Slovenia seem more typically associated with male graves; unfortunately, associated skeletal remains are rarely preserved (Knez 1993b: 25). The iconography of the belt plates decorated in *situla* style points to the male sphere and includes images of war, sex, hunting and fishing (for example, Brezje, Plate 12, Turk 2005: fig. 83, Molnik, Egg and Eibner 2005: fig. 7, Magdalenska gora, Lucke Frey 1962: pl. 41b, Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva: Križ 1997b: app. 4).

Male appearance, especially in the role of the warrior, is emphasised in graves containing sheet body cuirasses. In the late Bronze Age, finds are known from France to Slovakia. Fragments of one of the oldest sheet bronze corselets, dating to approximately the twelfth century BC, were found cremated in a burial mound at Čaka, Slovakia (Točík and Paulík 1960). In the early Iron Age they are restricted to a small area in the eastern Hallstatt zone. Five examples have been found at Kleinklein, Austria (Egg and Kramer 2013, Hansen 2007), two at Stična (Božič 2009) and one at Novo Mesto in Slovenia (Gabrovec 1960); one is known from Hungary with no closer identification of the site (Hansen 2007). Shaped after the naked upper body, shiny and golden, they mimic muscle lines and depict nipples. Defensive body armour serves a dual function: the protection of the body from physical harm in close combat and, as a side effect, the accentuation of the body surface underlining the desired nude appearance of the warrior.

4.3.4 Arms and legs

The extremities were frequently adorned with bracelets of different shapes and forms. Arm rings were worn on the upper and on the lower arm. Leg rings appear

around the ankles and are normally solid rings of bronze, more rarely of iron. Women frequently wear several pieces per arm and leg (Fig. 4.7), which must have created a quite distinctive sound while moving. Again, it is less the types than the number and whether they were paired or not, which points to gendered patterns of wear. In late Hallstatt southern Württemberg, two or more pairs of arm and leg rings are typically female (Burmeister 2000), but in late Ha D, the rings become integrated in the typical set of male jewellery. The recently discovered ‘Celtic Princess’ from the Bettelbühl necropolis near the Heuneburg wore three jet arm rings on the

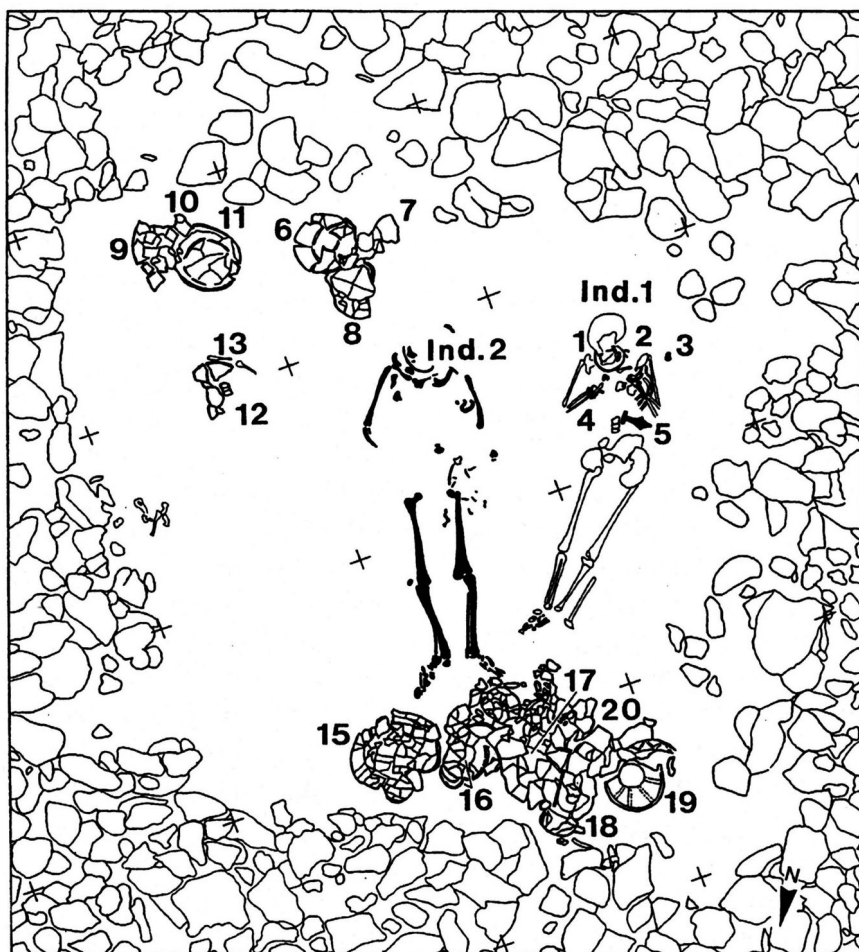


Figure 4.7 Grave 33 from Riedenburg-Untereggersberg, Germany. Individual 1 on the right is an adult woman buried with a bronze neck ring, two pins, three arm rings on each arm, three spiral wire rings and an iron belt hook. The burial of Individual 2, an adult male, is disturbed. The grave chamber further contained numerous pieces of pottery (Nikulka 1998: 244, fig. 81, courtesy of Frank Nikulka).

right arm and four on the left, as well as two bronze rings on each ankle (Krausse and Ebinger-Rist 2012). Dürrenberg women frequently wear three rings per arm and leg (Moser 2010: 40). The sets can reach considerable weights: the 12 leg rings of Grave 117 together weigh about 5.4 kg (Pauli 1978: 152). The diameter of the bracelets can sometimes help to distinguish children's from adult's graves.

Arm rings in the northeast seem to be more common for women than for men (Rebay 2006: 194). Smaller rings found in the foot area of the grave can sometimes be interpreted as components of leather shoes or boots. A pair of ceramic lasts found in a settlement pit near Sommerein, Austria (Neugebauer 1980), is proof of sophisticated shoe manufacturing.

4.3.5 Personal items

Personal items other than clothing include items for body care and grooming and objects used for everyday activities and habitual practices. Very interesting insights into personal and medical care are provided by ceramic rings of 55 to 85 mm in diameter found in the lower pelvic area of female skeletons of the early Iron Age. They can be interpreted as pessaries, devices that can be used to treat prolapse of the uterus. So far, 11 rings could be interpreted as pessaries according to their placement, but it is likely that many more can be added once their use is better known. The skeletal remains associated with the pessary from Stuttgart-Mühlhausen, Germany, also indicate changes to the pelvis that might have been caused by trauma during pregnancy and childbirth (Fig. 4.8, Scherzler 1998).

Tools for textile work are another group of objects often found in women's graves. Loom weights, spools and sewing needles can be found, but especially spindle whorls are testimony of spinning as a habitual, embodied practice; spinning might

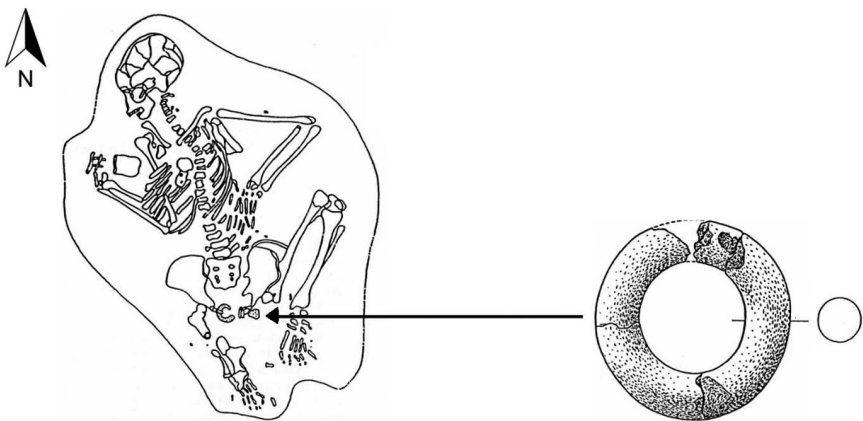


Figure 4.8 The location of the ceramic pessary on the skeletal remains of a 20- to 30-year-old woman in Grave 8, Viesenhäuser Hof, Stuttgart-Mühlhausen (after Scherzler 1998: figs 2 and 3, © Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart)

be done as a sideline job whenever possible, particularly in the winter months. As grave goods, spindle whorls are not particularly common in late Hallstatt Württemberg, although they do occur in late Ha D in northern Württemberg (Burmeister 2000: 71). In the northeastern Hallstatt area, they are very common grave goods for women. The spindle is one of the items that stays close to the body throughout life, death and beyond: many spindle whorls show traces of fire, which suggest the spindles were cremated with the body, as well as collected and deposited together with the remains after the cremation (Rebay-Salisbury 2010).

Toiletry items for male body care are well known north of the Alps. A typical combination is tweezers, nail cutters and ear spoons, often held together with a ring (Parzinger, Nekvasil and Barth 1995: 80). It was also important for the hair and beard to be well kept; images suggest that at least some men shaved both hair and beard off completely. Razors are thus found in graves in late Hallstatt Württemberg, for example, associated with mature men (Burmeister 2000: 92). Male personal items may also include knives, a multi-purpose tool and associated grindstones. Versions with small holes might have been strung and carried around, perhaps fixed to a belt. These are typical male grave components in the northeastern Hallstatt area (Rebay 2006: 182).

Weapons may also be considered personal items, and especially swords are thought to have some kind of personhood in their own right as well as extend the bodily and cognitive capability of the sword carrier to the extent that the sword may be thought of as a body part (Malafouris 2008). The sword as a grave good is typical for the Early Hallstatt period in the west; it occurs only in very exceptional grave contexts in the east. By the late Hallstatt period, the sword is replaced by the dagger in the west. In contrast to the sword, the dagger is more of an all-purpose object and walks the fine line between being a weapon and a tool. This is important, as over time men are portrayed less as warriors and more in other roles in graves; they are further allowed more female dress elements, objects that would have been considered too 'girly' a generation or two previously. Spearheads are found in graves of adult men from about the age of 20 in the west (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005). Weapons are almost exclusively found in central burial chambers in the Bavarian Altmühl Valley (Schumann 2015), strong evidence that weapons were linked to social status and the prestige of the deceased. Spears and axes are the typical weapons of eastern warriors (Egg 1996c, Nebelsick 1997). Images indicate that they were not only used for war, but also for hunting and killing animals in a sacrificial context. Similarly, bows and arrows, most often apparent in graves as a set of arrowheads and the remains of a quiver (for example, Hochdorf, the Glauberg, Dürrnberg Grave 116 and Dienstberg, Trebsche, Pollak and Gruber 2007: 38–39), can be used both for warfare and hunting.

The layering of clothing, dress and personal items in a spatial and temporal way on and around the physical human body has been extensively discussed through the example of Hochdorf (for example, Olivier 1999: 113–114). The body of the taller-than-average male individual of about 40 years of age was laid on a badger pelt, on a pillow stuffed with herbs, placed on a bronze couch. Personal possessions worn directly on the body include a cloth garment, a gold torc and an amber

necklace, a gold belt, two gold *fibulae*, a sheet-gold bracelet on the right arm, a gold belt and dagger, which had been covered with sheet gold for the funeral (Biel 1985a: 51). Shoes with sheet-gold decoration were placed on the feet, albeit in the wrong way – the left shoe was on the right foot and vice versa (Veit 1988). The deceased also wore a birch hat. Further items in contact with the body include a bag of toilet items with nail clipper, a small knife, three fishing hooks and some fishing line, which was placed on the chest of the dead body; a razor and comb lay near the birch hat. The quiver with arrows placed upside down was also placed with the body on the couch. Laurent Olivier also includes the large iron drinking horn hung behind the head of the deceased and the small sheet-gold drinking cup placed near the feet on the bronze cauldron in his list of personal items (1999: 114). Further, he differentiates funerary-endowment grave goods (which include the wagon, yoke, horse gear and dining set), placed on the side opposite to the body in the funerary chamber, and furniture and fittings in the grave (carpets, wall hangings, the couch, the drinking horns attached to the wall and the bronze cauldron).

The drinking and dining set in the grave of Hochdorf is exquisite. It includes an iron drinking horn hung on the chamber wall above the deceased's head and next to eight further slightly smaller drinking horns made of bronze. Nine bronze plates, the large bronze bowls and a big iron axe and knife for slaughtering and cutting animal meat were placed on the wagon (Krauß 1996). Animal bones were absent. The set of drinking and dining equipment was deposited at a time when such objects were no longer normally deposited in graves; in fact, as we will see later, pottery becomes less important over time in West Hallstatt graves.

4.4 Bodies and/as vessels

Pottery in graves often encompasses multiple meanings, as functional categories may overlap. Analytically, it is perhaps useful to distinguish the function of vessels as containers for food and drink, as serving dishes and accessories or tools for eating and drinking, as decorative and representational objects in their own right, as containers for cremated bodies and as representations of persons.

Pottery shapes and types emerge from the lived culture and embody stylistic preferences and ontological categorisations of people and things. Pottery vessels are rarely 'just' containers for food and drink; they encompass functional elements, but they also mirror worldviews – from commonly used units of food and drink, to aesthetic conventions and to changing attitudes towards standardisation and creativity. In addition, whether or not pottery is included in the graves, and to what extent, follows trends of fashion and beliefs and depends on developments in other social areas such as votive deposits and settlements. Of course, pottery is a very good indicator of dating, as preferences and styles change over time, but this is not the focus here. Pottery styles and preferences mark and reflect identities, and even if pottery can certainly not always be aligned with ethnic identities, as ethno-archaeological studies have shown (Hodder 1982), there are reasons to suspect that systems of marking and signalling social identity were in place in early Iron Age central Europe (Brosseder 2004, Brosseder 2006).

Food and drink were not only important parts of everyday Iron Age life, but the regulation of access to food and drink, cooking and preparation techniques (Wood 2000), as well as the contexts of consumption, provide interesting insights into body politics. It is widely acknowledged that food and drink played a crucial role in the feasting practices of Iron Age communities, which, in turn, contributed to politics, the construction of group coherence and diplomatic encounters between communities (for example, Dietler 2006, Ralph 2007). Pottery in graves mirrors these concerns at different levels.

Food remains found in connection with vessels can clarify their function. Botanical remains such as grains, nuts and fruit are sometimes preserved; animal bones are found both in vessels, where they might be interpreted as part of a meaty stew (Barth 1992), or placed on shallow bowls, often together with a small knife, which probably represents cooked or roast cuts of meat. Not all the pottery in the graves, however, was necessarily filled with food or drink: stacks of plates and bowls from graves suggest that they were deposited empty as the necessary cooking, dining and drinking equipment. The consumption of alcoholic drinks as an integral part of society is well documented in graves (Kaus 1980, Kossack 1964, Nebelsick 1997) and is particularly emphasised in many narrative scenes in art (see Section 7.11.1). Food and drink in the grave are frequently interpreted as provisions for the journey to the afterlife, or in the afterlife as such; further, pottery may have some value in itself, can represent possessions of the dead as well as gifts from the mourners, or vessels from burial rituals that took place at the open grave. Pottery can symbolise access to food and drink and the capability to invite guests, thus documenting social relations. Standard pottery sets vary in time and place, but may be multiplied to symbolise a specific number of people and relationships.

Further, vessels are decorative objects in their own right and generally symbolise access to fine craftsmanship, raw materials and labour, and on a specific level, particular shapes and decorations hint at domestic and ritual practices. In the West Hallstatt area, lavishly decorated ceramic vessels were placed in graves of the eighth and seventh centuries BC; the so-called Alb-Hegau ceramics (Keller 1939) are handmade pottery vessels made specifically for funerary purposes. The polychrome decorations appear dense and include geometric ornaments in incised, cut and stamped techniques. Innovative vessel shapes include large, stepped plates and composite vessels (Guggisberg in press). Towards Bavaria, Hallstatt ceramics increasingly emphasise the black-and-white contrast with ceramics fired under oxygen-deprived conditions, leaving a dark surface, which is sometimes finished with graphite, and incisions and stamps filled with paste (see Hughes 1999, Hughes 2001: for examples from the cemetery of Schirndorf, Germany, Stroh 1979, Stroh 1988, Stroh 2000a, Stroh 2000b). The custom of placing decorative pottery in graves is largely restricted to the Early Hallstatt period; late Hallstatt graves contain few items of pottery or none at all. Overall, the regional and chronological pattern of pottery deposition in graves is diverse throughout the Hallstatt area and ranges from none or just a few pieces of pottery to sets of several dozens.

Important innovations at the beginning of the Iron Age in the northeastern Hallstatt area include an explosion in ceramic forms and decorations, which points to a new aesthetic understanding as well as an expanded field of pottery use, which most likely includes the ritual sphere. The leitmotif of the Kalenderberg area is a one-handled pot of medium size and simple form, but with very elaborate plastic decoration made of clay 'warts' set densely on the shoulder and belly surface. This decoration feels rough and certainly prevents the pot from slipping through the hands, perhaps because of its valuable or slippery content (Rebay 2006: 90). Double and triple vessels, as well as vessels with several miniature vessels attached (*keranoi* after similar finds in the Mediterranean), are also sometimes found in graves and connected to libation rites (Nebelsick 1997: 71). The presence of fire-dogs and pedestal bowls with miniature firedog models in graves – particularly those of women – has been interpreted in terms of the re-creation of the hearth in the grave (Nebelsick 1996). The combination of double vessels, firedogs and Kalenderberg vessels (the 'Kalenderberg triad') is often found in well-furnished female graves that further contain spindle whorls and other evidence for textile working, as well as some female dress elements such as *fibulae*, beads and neck and arm rings. This has given rise to the idea that women might have had a special role in the ritual life of the Kalenderberg area (Eibner 2001, Teržan 1986: 116), in which the hearth and the household, traditionally part of the female sphere, were emphasised.

Zoomorphic vessels, on the other hand, are more likely to be found in graves of children or men. A distinction has to be made between small, zoomorphic vessels and large vessels with two or more bull protomes. The former are a continuation of a late Bronze Age tradition of putting small feeding vessels and zoomorphic vessels with a spout into children's graves (Eibner 1973). The vessels are usually built of standard types with additions in the appropriate places to turn the whole vessel into an animal form (for an example from Este, Italy, cf. Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004: no. 5, 31, Franzhausen, Austria: Neugebauer 1996, Sopron, Hungary: Preinfalk 2003, Donnerskirchen, Austria: Rebay 2005, for example, Statzendorf, Austria: Rebay 2006: 107). The spouts are made to work so liquid can be poured out of them. Although they may still be interpreted as feeding vessels, especially when found in children's graves, they became included in male and female graves during the course of the Hallstatt period; their meaning might have shifted towards different functions, for instance, as an object to use in the context of libation rites. The latter, opulent, representative vessels are larger in size, most commonly painted in geometrical red-and-black patterns and rather than transforming the whole vessel into an animal, zoomorphic protomes are often only added to the vessel at its shoulders. The number of protomes varies and ranges from one (for example, Nové Košariská, Slovakia: Pichlerová 1969), two (for example, Langenlebern and Gemeinlebern, Austria: Preinfalk 2003), three (for example, Donnerskirchen, Austria: Kaus 1989, Šmarjeta pri Novem Mestu, Slovenia: Siegfried-Weiss 1979: 193) and four (Großmugl, Austria: Krenn 1959). Vessels like these are found in wealthy graves with male components all over the East Hallstatt area. In fact, they are sometimes cited as one of the few unifying

elements of the East Hallstatt area (cf. Müller-Scheeßel 2000). The large bull-headed vessels might symbolically represent the herding of bovids in the area, which represented considerable wealth at the border to the steppe zone in Europe.

Anthropomorphic vessels from the same area are, however, a rarity. Most common is the addition of feet on vessels and bowls; Kalenderberg vessels with two parallel ceramic feet in place of a pedestal have been discovered at Statzendorf, Austria (Rebay 2006: 92), and Gemeinlebarn, Austria (Szombathy 1929: pl. 25, fig. 1). Three feet – more sensible in terms of stability – were added to a vessel from Jois, Austria (Pescheck 1942: pl. 48, 2), and are also known in two examples from Nové Košariská, Slovakia (Pichlerová 1969); one with four legs was found in Sopron, Hungary (Gallus 1938: 23, fig. 23). The feet vary in length and are quite accurately modelled according to anatomical proportions, including the knees. The vessels from Nové Košariská even model the toes, but the artist took a shortcut, and there are only four toes instead of five. Tumulus 6 from Nové Košariská included another anthropomorphic vessel (Pichlerová 1969: pl. 30) with hands as the anthropomorphised elements: the vessel's basic form is a large bowl on a pedestal. Two *kernoi* were added on the shoulder and in between arms raised up in an orant gesture. The palms are raised up horizontally, and a small hole just underneath the ring finger holds a chain of ceramic rings. The fingers are formed well. Although the proportion of hand and fingers are reminiscent of a child's hand, it seems more likely that shortening the hand was for technical reasons. The only comparable vessel known from this area was found in a tumulus at Marz, Austria, in 1879. Franz Heger, who first discussed this vessel, found the attachments most curious and initially could not decide if they resembled hands or feet, since the fingers were broken off (Heger 1903). Because of the common compositional principles applied to all vessels, it is much more likely they are hands. Anthropomorphised vessels use body parts conceptually divided into pieces; these fragments teach us about how body parts are thought about as distinct entities (cf. Rebay-Salisbury, Sørensen and Hughes 2010a). With only a few items to consider, it is hard to establish hard-and-fast rules. Arms are cut above the elbow, legs are cut in different places, which coincide with the finishing lines of different types of dress – from Situla Art we know skirts with hems above the knee and just below the knee (both for men) and at the ankle (for both men and women). Both partitioning lines are also used for anthropomorphised bronze pendants (see Section 7.3). Both arms and feet are attached at corresponding places on the vessel. Arms and feet are not attached at random places, but on the appropriate sites: the merging of the body part extends and humanises the whole vessel. This further suggests that vessels were conceptualised in the likeness of a human body, with parts of the vessel corresponding to body parts.

Face urns are the most striking and articulate renderings of persons. Although they are not directly known from the Hallstatt area, they occur in two main areas flanking the Hallstatt core: an area between Scandinavia, northern and central Germany and Poland on the one hand, and Etruria, Italy, on the other. The first group, distributed in the first millennium BC with a core in the seventh to fifth centuries BC (Kneisel 2012, La Baume 1963), encompasses about 2200 objects,

many of which were lost and destroyed during the world wars. The vessel shapes originate in contemporary storage vessels and are only slightly altered to match bodily proportions; nose, eyes and eyebrows, and more rarely ears and mouths, are added to complete the face. Some vessels have added bronze jewellery such as earrings or necklaces just as on a real body. The face urns are often carriers of human imagery, which is frequently gendered – adornments and jewellery point to the female sphere, weaponry, hunting and animal representations to the male sphere. Although only in rare cases can the vessels be matched to the remains of cremated individuals, they are often deposited in stone cists for more than one individual where the context is known. In these, a mature male individual tends to be the oldest buried, suggesting a patrilineal social order (Kneisel 2012). The face urns from early Iron Age Italy are also known as Etruscan *canopic* vases (Gempeler 1974), although they have little to do with their Egyptian namesakes, which are jars used to store and preserve the viscera of mummies. Dating from the eighth to the sixth centuries BC, the urns have a concentration in central Italy, particularly in the tombs of Chiusi. The Italian vessels are made of bronze or clay, sometimes in combination, and often combine a bust-shaped urn with a lid shaped as the head of the deceased. Arms may be added, sometimes made to be moveable. The urns are often set on thrones, emphasising the high social status of the deceased. The idea to put a face on an urn or transform the whole vessel into a human is not unique to the early Iron Age – similar ideas surface in other times and places, for example, Middle Bronze Age Hungary (Kovács 1977) or Roman Austria (Jobst 1992). Whether or not the locally restricted but related phenomena in early Iron Age Europe were in fact connected over the large distance and, if so, how these relations might have worked are difficult to ascertain. Jutta Kneisel (2012) pointed to a possible connection in the form of an ambiguously decorated vessel from Dlhá nad Váhom, Slovakia (Studeníková 1996: 503, fig. 1).

A further theme expressed in the funerary domain is to give the remains a new home to ‘house’ the body; this is quite literally achieved by using urns in the shape of houses and huts. Again, they are found in two major clusters in Europe: in central Italy (Latium Vetus and Etruria) between the tenth and eighth centuries BC (Bartoloni et al. 1987), and in Denmark, Sweden, Germany and Poland in the seventh and sixth centuries BC (Sabatini 2007). The Italian urns are shaped after dwellings in which people lived, whereas northern European house urns seem to be more similar to granaries, which suggests a slightly different ideological background from which their manufacture arises (Bradley 2002). The central metaphor, however, remains similar and includes notions of storing and containing.

More generally, the vessel form most frequently used as an urn is the large storage vessel. Although no specific type is employed consistently, use wear suggests that in many cases urns are selected from domestic storage and cooking vessels. But the fragility of some urns, particularly in high-status graves, makes it likely they were made specifically for the funeral. Urns provide a place for the cremated remains and, to a degree, provide a new corporeality, reconstituting the person fragmented by the funerary fire (Rebay-Salisbury 2010). As a vessel fit to contain the remains of a person, the association between the clay wall of pottery

and skin seems obvious. The question is how much urns were generally thought of as bodies; curiously, there is a wide variation in how tightly and securely the remains *need* to be contained. Already in late Bronze Age Central Europe cremated remains are often put carelessly in what can be identified as a 'central vessel': sometimes in it, next to it or scattered over the urn and the bottom of the grave pit (Wiesner 2009: 581). Norbert Wiesner suggested that the prevailing motive might be to place the body on a 'sustaining base', to nourish it; a notion that is also apparent from the late Bronze Age/early Iron Age graves in Vollmarshausen near Kassel, Germany, where urns were re-opened and fed with foodstuff (Bergmann 1982).

The princely grave of Seddin in the Lusatian cultural area, Germany (Kunow 2003), dating to the late Bronze Age at around 800 BC, is a primary example of how a concern about secure closure leads to a nested wrapping of the cremated remains; the different materials and textures might also allude to other meanings and metaphors. From inside to outside, the cremated remains were wrapped in fur, then placed in a bronze amphora, which was placed in a lidded ceramic pot. The lid was fastened with ceramic pegs. With other grave goods, the urn was then placed in a stone-built burial chamber and topped with a mound of soil. Urns can take the place of a human body in the way they are handled and cared for. We have already seen how bodies – whether interred or cremated – are wrapped in textiles before burials. Urns were sometimes treated in the same way – wrapped, clothed and even dressed with pins like a dead human person. An iron pin left a rust stain on the body of an early Iron Age urn from Niederkaina, Germany (Kaiser and Puttkammer 2007: 77), which suggests that the pin had been used to hold the 'shroud' together and was placed according to the 'correct' parts of the body the urn resembles. Urns as bounded, enclosed spaces for the cremated remains invert the fragmentation and dispersion that happens through cremation. Covering urns with lids, bowls, stones and the like is frequently observed as a practice to make the enclosure complete.

The evidence for the use of urns in the West Hallstatt area is – as in the east – skewed by the fact that detailed observations are lacking for many well-known sites. In antiquarian reports, all varieties of cremation burials were labelled urn burials, regardless of whether the cremated remains were deposited in vessels or not. Further, large vessels were, until recently, generally referred to as urns, whether or not they contained cremated remains (cf. Kurz 1997: 76). Jana Esther Fries observed that in 'small cremation graves', cremated remains were most often separated from the pyre debris and placed in an urn, sometimes turned upside down. But deposition without a vessel is also common (Fries 2007: 21). The cremations in the Magdalenenberg near Villingen (Spindler 1971, Spindler 1972, Spindler 1973, Spindler 1976b, Spindler 1977, Spindler 1980) are also of both kinds, enclosed by an urn and deposited in a heap without a vessel. Different from a scattered cremation, the distinct boundaries of the heap of cremated remains suggest that the cremated remains were deposited in a container of organic material such as wickerwork, wood or fabric, which is no longer preserved.

The use of urns in early Iron Age cremation burials in the eastern Hallstatt area seems to continue the themes of the southern Urnfield culture. Simple pit graves with only few vessels deposited in the grave use urns regularly and may cover them with bowls or stones. At Statzendorf, Austria, for instance, about 76 per cent of cremations were deposited in an urn, whereas the rest were found in a heap next to the pottery in the grave (Rebay 2006: 37); of the urns, the majority were covered. As the development towards rectangular and larger burial chambers continued during the course of the Hallstatt period, urns were used less often. As we will see later, different forms of depositing cremated remains in a single burial chamber co-existed. Scattered cremations dominated, used particularly for high-status graves, whereas urns continued to be used for secondary and subsequent burials. The emphasis on closure shifted from the vessel itself to the enclosing built structure, the burial chamber and burial mound.

In conclusion, pottery in graves fulfils a range of roles, of which containing food and drink is just one; pottery symbolises social networks and gatherings for feasts, expresses wealth through fine craftsmanship and access to raw materials, allows associations with identities at different levels and allows different kinds of metaphors of human bodies to be played out. The degree to which urns indeed represented persons in graves varied geographically and chronologically, but nowhere in the Hallstatt area were associations between people and vessels formulated as they were in central Italy or northern Europe.

4.5 The internal geography of graves and the body

The internal layout of Hallstatt graves is reliant on two primary factors. First, on the mode of burial – inhumation or cremation – and second, on the degree of elaboration of the funerary structures, which determines the use of space. Graves range from simple pits to large wooden and stone-built chambers. The placement and orientation of inhumation graves are always linked to the orientation of the chamber around them.

In the West Hallstatt area, bodies are almost always laid out in supine position, with arms parallel to the body (Kurz 1997: 92–96). Deviations from this pattern, if not a consequence of taphonomic processes or erroneous documentation, might have particular significance. Nils Müller-Scheeßel has recently analysed the ways arms were placed in well-documented Hallstatt inhumation graves (Müller-Scheeßel 2008). He could show that a position with arms bent and held in front of the chest is more frequent in high-status male graves. This is a posture that occurs on stone stele such as Hirschlanden and has been interpreted as a masculine and warrior gesture or, more recently, with a ‘specific relationship with death, the ancestors, and the Otherworld which could have either male or female associations’ (Armit and Grant 2008: 421). Arms placed at the belly are, in contrast, more common in female graves and might constitute an apotropaic gesture in the context of reproduction and fertility. A further interesting observation is that a greater distance between spine and arms might be a clue to obesity and excess weight of a buried person (Müller-Scheeßel quotes Grave 97 from the Magdalenenberg,

Germany, as an example, Spindler 1976b: pl. 24). Bodies placed on the side or in crouched positions occur less frequently, and positions on the belly are particularly rare (see Kurz 1997: 93 for a table of exceptional body positions).

In the West Hallstatt area, south–north orientation prevails, but with a large margin of variation. Secondary burials are often aligned perpendicular to the radius of the mound and not primarily according to cardinal directions; further, traditions within burial communities most likely weighed more than trans-regional conventions. Orientation according to sunrise and sunset – in itself depending on the time of year in which the burial occurred – has been considered and dismissed in a recent survey of skeletal orientation in southern Germany (Müller-Scheeßel 2005b); a more important cosmic factor for the orientation of the bodies might have been the stars. In fact, the changing stellar constellations during the course of the Hallstatt period could be traced in the chronological development of grave orientations (Müller-Scheeßel 2005b). The placing of the inhumation graves within the Magdalenenberg recently gave rise to very interesting interpretations. Overall, the inhumations are placed perpendicular to the radius of the mound, and most inhumations are oriented with their head towards east–southeast (Jung 2003). The buried community is naturally divided in two parts by timber alignments roughly dividing the mound at a northwest–southeast axis (Meyer-Orlac 1983: 13, Abb. 1). Recent palaeo-astronomical research has shown that the timber alignments correspond to phenomena related to the moon, namely the lunar standstill. Allard Mees even put forward the idea that inhumations were placed around the central chamber in the pattern of the stellar constellations visible in the northern hemisphere at midsummer in 618 BC, resulting in a giant lunar calendar (Mees 2011).

Body orientations differ even within the same group of mounds, which has recently been exemplified by excavations in the Speckhau group near the Heuneburg, Germany (Arnold and Murray 2002, Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2001, Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2003). The walls of the central chamber of Burial Mound 17 were aligned with the cardinal directions, and the inhumation along the eastern wall of the chamber was oriented south–north. The three secondary inhumation burials in the mantle of the burial mound also seemed to have been oriented towards the cardinal directions. The secondary burials of Burial Mound 18, in contrast, were arranged perpendicular to the radius of the mound around the central chamber. One bi-ritual and 16 inhumation graves in the mantle of the burial mound included at least seven women and two men (Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2003: 82); all bodies at this site were almost completely decayed. Nevertheless, most bodies were placed with the head in the south; only the graves on the north or south sides of the burial mound could not be oriented this way without changing the ‘tangential pattern of deposition’ (Garstki, Arnold and Murray 2015: 28).

Bodies were put in pits with no discernible coffin or grave construction, or in wooden burial chambers of various sizes, from small, body-sized rectangular ones to large square or rectangular house-like structures measuring several metres on each side. The wooden walls, normally built in a log-cabin technique, more rarely with posts and wooden boards, were sometimes reinforced by stone slabs or boulders set along the outside of the wooden structure. At least in Hochdorf, Germany

(Banck-Burgess 2012), the whole wooden chamber was lined with elaborate textiles. Evidence for how chambers were finished on the inside in the eastern Hallstatt area comes from Janíky, Tumulus 4, Zöldhalom, Slovakia (Studeníková 1996): the walls were whitewashed and ornamented with geometrical patterns in black. Interestingly, this decoration was also applied to large vessels in the grave, which were painted over with patterns that differed markedly from the original decoration.

In relation to the layout of the burial chamber, bodies in high-status inhumation graves tend to be placed on furniture (for example, Hochdorf, Biel 1985), or on wagon boxes (for example, Vix, Rolley 2003); positions along the side of the chamber or in the centre but parallel to one wall are the norm, even in less well-equipped graves. Vessels are normally placed alongside the opposite wall where space allows it; in smaller, rectangular chambers pottery is frequently placed at the foot or the head of the inhumation, more rarely in the middle (Kurz 1997: 104).

Space was optimised when further inhumations (or cremations) were added. At the Dürrenberg, Austria (Moser 2010, Zeller 2001), for instance, it was frequently observed that older inhumations were pushed further towards the side of the chamber to make room for new bodies. Access to the grave chambers must have been possible via the side walls of the chambers or, alternatively, from the top: the cover of the extraordinarily well-preserved grave chamber of Grave 352 from the Dürrenberg, Austria (Egg and Zeller 2005), had a rectangular hole cut into it, which may be a relic of an attempt at grave robbing (Moser 2010: 56), but might also be connected to subsequent offerings or the secondary burial of an infant in the same grave. Changing and re-building grave structures around new burials have also been observed in Bavarian cemeteries, notably Schirndorf (for example, Müller-Scheeßel 2009a, Müller-Scheeßel 2009b).

Built structures such as corridors allowing access to the grave chambers are absent in the West Hallstatt area. Occasionally, however, they have been unearthed from eastern elite burials (Egg 1996c) and seem to mimic the Mediterranean idea of the *dromos*. The northernmost burial mound with an entrance corridor was documented in Morašice, Czech Republic (Golec 2004). Excavations of Tumulus 115 from Százhalombatta, Hungary (Holport 1999), revealed construction details of the 5.5 × 5.5-metre wooden burial chamber, as hot charcoal helped to preserve it: the chamber was made of oak timbers split in half and set on stone plaster. The walls were built in log-cabin technique; the roof construction of the chamber was supported by several posts and covered by split logs and stone slabs. Separated only by a thin plank wall, a 1.5-metre-wide corridor extended from the centre of the east chamber wall 7 metres towards the east. In contrast to the chamber, the *dromos* did not seem to be roofed and was later blocked by large blocks of limestone. It seems that after the funerary ritual, which saw the placement of the bodies, the chamber was securely closed.

Curiously, it is often difficult to reconstruct the relationship of the built structure with the cremated remains in large burial chambers. The deposition of cremated bone on the floor was common, but the excavated amounts rarely match what would be expected for a whole person. The bones often belonged to more

than one individual, and the scattering of bones in different places even makes counting a minimum number of individuals difficult. At Schirndorf, Germany, for example, the primary deposition of adult individuals in graves 42 and 65 were both laid out divided into several heaps (Müller-Scheeßel 2005a, Stroh 1979: 156, fig. 44, Stroh 1988: fig. 21), without there being evidence for more than one buried person. In Tumulus 3 from Nové Košariská, Slovakia (Pichlerová 1969), cremated human remains were distributed between an urn in the northwest corner of the burial chamber and three heaps along the southern wall. They belonged to an adult of 30 to 50 years old, but it remained unclear if there was more than one person in the grave. Tumulus 6, an even larger burial mound from the same site with an exceptional pottery set of more than 70 pieces, including anthropomorphic ones, revealed neither any urns nor heaps of cremated human bones on the floor of the chamber; cremated remains of children from six months to six years in age, however, were found in the backfill above the chamber.

Re-excavations of burial mounds can, of course, only partially help to solve the mystery, as human bones might well have been relocated by grave robbers and antiquarian excavators. At Kleinklein, Austria, concentrations of human bones of an adult individual were found in the north corner, while three more individuals, including an adolescent, were found in the southeast of the chamber. Burnt animal bones of at least three horses, but also some cattle, pigs and sheep/goat, were deposited in the *dromos* (Egg and Kramer 2005: 9, Grill and Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2013). Both in Langenlebern and Gemeinlebern, Austria (Neugebauer 1997, Preinfalk 2003), there was a cremation in the centre of the chamber of the monumental burial mounds, around which the grave goods and vessels were arranged.

The expectation to find the bodily remains of one single individual for whom the grave was built is perhaps more of a modern construct than early Iron Age reality. Evidence is mounting up that at least some of the monumental burial mounds in the East Hallstatt area are, in fact, the resting places of multiple people and were not built for only one individual. At the tumuli of Hochholz, Bad Fischau, Krensdorf and Loretto site 25a, all in Austria (Nebelsick 1997: 54), this seems to be the case; at the latter site, a burial chamber of 5 × 5 m had at least nine cremations arranged on a clay platform along the (south-)eastern wall of the chamber, in part in urns, in part placed in small heaps. The chamber was divided by a large rock; at the opposite wall, at least 14 large storage vessels were aligned.

A complex burial situation was also documented at burial mound 1 of the small barrow group of Zagersdorf, Austria (Fig. 4.9, Rebay 2002). Along the north wall of the burial chamber and in the southwest corner of the burial chamber, four discrete clusters of cremated bones were found; 152 g of a possibly female individual, aged between 14 and 40 years old, with a small vessel; 78 g of a possibly adult female individual with a set of bronze rings; 152 g of an adult individual with four spindle whorls and 186 g of a juvenile individual without objects directly associated. On the central west side of the chamber was a large urn with 680 g of human bone of a 25- to 40-year-old, possibly female, and some bronze dress elements; on the opposite east wall, a vessel contained 262 g of an adult, again possibly a female. A few fragments of human bone have also been found

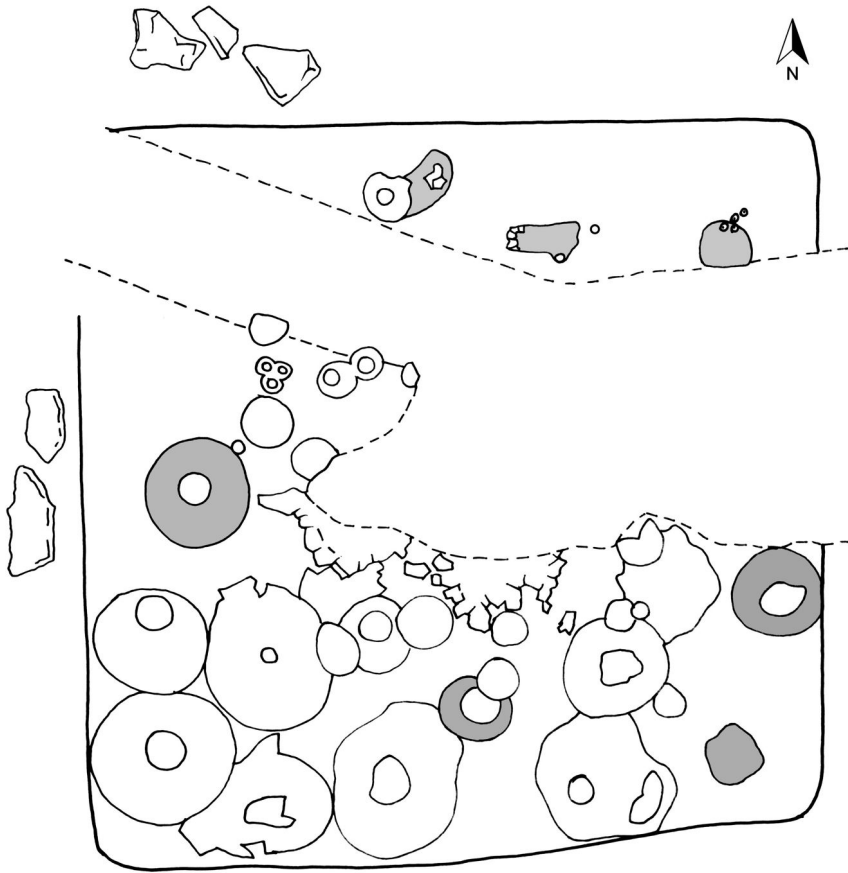


Figure 4.9 Plan of the burial chamber of Zagersdorf, Austria. Grey: location of human remains (after Rebay 2002: pl. 26)

in a vessel near the centre, together with a spindle whorl and small bronze rings of a necklace. With the exception of the urn containing 680 g of bones, none of the other clusters is representative of complete human remains after cremation. It seems that *pars pro toto* sufficed for the burial. It is also interesting that although the complete collection of the fragmented body was not a consideration, bodies and objects remained close together. In the case of the individual deposited with the spindle whorls, traces of fire indicate that they, too, had been on the funerary pyre, were cremated with the body and were collected and deposited together with the cremated remains (Rebay-Salisbury 2010). Although the centre of the burial chamber was destroyed in World War II by the construction of a military trench, it seems evident that the south of the burial chamber was densely packed with pottery, with large vessels arranged along the south wall and smaller ones in front: this kind of theatrical arrangement makes most sense if one considers how the

burial chamber was experienced and seen. Excavations confirmed the presence of a ramp at the north side of the chamber, an elevated place from which the inside could be viewed. This construction detail emphasises the role of the grave as a place of social display, which requires access, perhaps regularly and not only on the occasion of the funerary deposition.

In the Lusatian area towards the northeast of the Hallstatt area, the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age also encompasses a change from relatively simple urn burials to depositions in rectangular wooden chambers. At the cemetery of Niederkaina, Germany, which encompasses more than 600 Bronze Age urn burials and 1200 early Iron Age graves (Coblentz and Nebelsick 1997, Kaiser and Puttkammer 2007), detailed insights into depositional practices could be gained. After cremating the dressed body, the cremated remains were gathered from the feet up in a small leather pouch, which was closed by a ring or pin and placed in a large vessel from the household. After closing it with a bowl, the whole package was wrapped in cloth, perhaps fastened with a pin and deposited in the grave (Kaiser and Puttkammer 2007: 78). The grave construction – rectangular wooden chambers of different sizes – resembles contemporaneous houses in geometry and orientation. Most interesting is the deposition of clusters of grave goods in three different areas of the grave: a group of ceramics close to the body, most likely a set of drinking vessels, can be differentiated from a cluster of ceramics further away from the body, which includes household ceramics and hearth models and is thought to represent the household. Furthermore, fragments of the ceramics that had been on the funerary pyre are scattered in a separate area within the grave (Nebelsick 1995: 69–73).

As we have seen, the internal geography of the graves is highly dependent on the mode of burial: the layout of the grave is structured by the inhumed body, or vice versa: the body is laid out in relation to the built structure. Furnishing follows the principle that wooden chambers are built in analogy of houses – pottery is most often stacked along the walls and in spaces left empty by the body. Access to the body is never a factor in the West Hallstatt area, whereas some eastern elite graves include corridors to the chambers. There is no general structural principle of where cremations are deposited within the grave; enclosure of the remains of the person in organic containers or urns is not generally applied, and scattered cremations may include partial depositions. Pyre remains are sometimes included in the grave or deposited nearby. It is important to note that several individuals may be placed in one grave and that one individual may be divided into several clusters or heaps of human bones – this underlines the importance of careful excavations and analysis by specialists in physical anthropology.

4.6 From grave architecture to burial communities

Graves are rarely found alone; in the Hallstatt period the variety of ways in which graves are arranged and grouped together to form burial communities is indeed striking. Communities are built, relationships confirmed and genealogies made explicit through the spatial organisation of burial places. Graves are also ideal

places to show status differences between members of the same community. How exactly burial places and cemeteries are linked to settlements and communities of the living remains difficult to ascertain. Calculations of population size on the basis of the number of buried individuals (Acsádi and Nemeskéri 1970, Chamberlain 2006) only provide approximations, even if the age structure of the community is taken into account. The calculated numbers often appear disappointingly low: burial places tend to be used over centuries, which limits the number of people living together at any one time. A population of only about 60 individuals would account for a cemetery of 400 graves used over 200 years. Whether or not all individuals of a community were indeed buried is a hotly debated topic in Iron Age archaeology, as so many individuals seem to be ‘missing’. Inconspicuous burials between better-documented ones – for example, small cremation graves in between burial mounds, or secondary interments in larger mortuary structures – may, however, make up for this difference. On the one hand, Nils Müller-Scheeßel has argued quite convincingly for the Hallstatt communities in southwestern Germany that sufficient graves have been found to account for the estimated population size at the time (Müller-Scheeßel 2007). If, on the other hand, the postulated population size of 5000 for the Heuneburg, Germany, is true (Fernández-Götz and Krausse 2012), it begs the question where their burials are – burial mounds in the vicinity do not come close to accounting for a population of that size.

About 92 burial mounds of different sizes have been recorded within a 5-km radius of the Heuneburg (Kurz and Schiek 2002), some of which are single monuments, while others appear in groups. The Gießübel-Talhau group is closest to the hillfort, while the Speckhau group, including the famous Hohmichele, with a diameter of c. 80 m, is the second largest early Iron Age burial mound in Europe (Riek 1962); the Baumburg and the Lehenbühl are situated at about a 1-km distance. The Bettelbühl group and the Rauher Lehen are located across the Danube.

Seven burial mounds make up the Bettelbühl necropolis, which is named after a small tributary of the Danube that created wet soil conditions beneficial to organic preservation at the site. In 2005, the inhumation grave of a child was discovered as a secondary interment in the mantle of Burial Mound 4. Only dental remains of the individual were preserved, which point to a 2- to 4-year-old girl. She was found with two decorated, gold-plated bronze *fibulae*, glass beads, small bronze rings, a bronze arm ring and two round pendants with elaborate gold filigree decoration, possibly of Etruscan origin. The grave dates to the end of the sixth century BC (Kurz and Wahl 2006).

A systematic excavation of the burial mound in 2010 led to the discovery of a well-preserved wooden chamber made of oak and fir that measured 4.5 × 3.6 m. Because of the potential for organic preservation, it was removed *en bloc* and transported to the laboratory of the Landesamt für Denkmalpflege in Ludwigsburg for thorough investigation. The burial chamber contained two inhumations. A 30- to 40-year-old woman, thought to be the primary interment, was found with a rich set of dress and jewellery items *in situ*. Her skull and mandible, including a golden earring, however, were dislocated and found at quite some distance within the

chamber. The chamber did not appear to have been robbed. Rather, the changing groundwater levels may have been responsible for the dislocation.

The ‘Celtic Princess’, as the primary interment has been characterised, wore gold earrings and elaborate amber and gold jewellery around the neck and chest, including three bronze bow *fibulae* with amber inlets. She wore three jet arm rings on the right arm and four on the left; a bronze belt and amber jewellery adorned her waist. Two bronze rings were found around each ankle. The filigree gold balls that were part of the jewellery set appear to be technologically very similar to the jewellery in the child’s grave discovered in 2005. A family relationship between the ‘Princess’ and the child is therefore assumed.

Amongst the exotica in the grave is a horse’s bronze head armour found in the southeast corner of the burial chamber (Krausse and Ebinger-Rist 2014), towards the feet of the second individual, also a woman. This woman was buried with barely any jewellery. At present, it is unclear if she was a lower-status individual buried contemporaneously with the ‘Celtic Princess’ or if she was interred at a later date (Krausse and Ebinger-Rist 2012). The wooden grave chamber was dendrochronologically dated to 590/580 BC (Krausse and Ebinger-Rist 2014: 119).

This grave is the only remaining intact princely grave contemporary to the heyday of the occupation of the Heuneburg; most other burial mounds have been reopened and robbed. Whereas the Bettelbühl ‘Princess’ certainly belonged to the upper strata of society, the grave inventories of the recently excavated Burial Mounds 17 and 18 of the Speckhau group make a more modest impression (Arnold and Murray 2002, Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2001, Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2003). Excavations next to Burial Mound 14 of Satzlet-Süd, in the vicinity of the Speckhau group (Klein 2006), revealed several simple flat graves. It seems that with more attention to the space between burial mounds, individuals from a wider range of social strata are added to the archaeological record.

Large burial mounds visible from the settlements, but separated by topographic features such as valleys and fortifications, are typical for the West Hallstatt area. Although secondary burials are uncommon or a later Hallstatt phenomenon in the Swiss plateau, northern Württemberg and Burgundy (Stöllner 2012: 559), they are common both in Ha C and D in most of the West Hallstatt provinces. Large burial mounds with multiple secondary burials like the Magdalenenberg near Villingen (Spindler 1976a) or Kappel (Dehn, Egg, and Lehnert 2005) have been interpreted in terms of a change of social organisation from family units to tribes (Stöllner 2012: 559). The Magdalenenberg near Villingen’s (Spindler 1976a) secondary burial community comprises 126 graves with 144 individuals buried within a short time span. Recent isotope analysis has demonstrated that only about a third of the individuals grew up locally, most of the individuals in the wider region of southwestern Germany, and some had roots further afield (Oelze et al. 2012). Conversely, DNA analysis on individuals in the burial mound cemetery of Mitterkirchen, Upper Austria, identified closely related members of a family (Kiesslich et al. 2005).

A central place like the Dürrenberg, Austria, for instance, would be surrounded by a number of cemeteries and individual graves in the landscape. The different

cemeteries share similarities, but also enough differences that they may be understood as distinct communities with their own patterns of grave goods and funerary rites (for example, Kammelhöhe, Sonneben, Moserfeld amongst many others, cf. Moser, Tiefengraber and Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2012, Tiefengraber and Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2012). Northern Italian sites such as Este (Ruta Serafini 2002) are surrounded by a number of sanctuaries dedicated to different deities, as well as several cemeteries.

The Hallstatt pattern of settlement–cemetery relations continues farther east. At Donnerskirchen, for instance, a group of large burial mounds was built, visible across a valley from the hilltop settlement, while further graves and settlement traces were located in the valley (Rebay 2005). Large cemeteries without traces of burial mounds are known from the preceding Urnfield culture and were, in some areas, preserved throughout the Hallstatt period. Several hundred individuals per cemetery are not uncommon, but an increase in social differentiation through grave architecture and the spacing of graves can be observed almost everywhere. During the course of the early Iron Age at Statzendorf, Austria, for example, the space between graves increased and individuals of low social rank were buried at the edges of the cemetery (Rebay 2007).

Funerary monuments arranged along the access roads of settlements is a typical Mediterranean layout which was, most likely, the influence leading to the topographic arrangement of burial mounds at Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Fig. 4.10, Eibner-Persy 1980). An access road led along the ridge of the hill before bridging a ditch to the entrance of a well-situated and fortified hilltop settlement. About 150 burial mounds were built along the road leading to the entrance, leaving a corridor along the fortification which was not used for mound building. At Purbach, Austria, the situation is similar (Doneus et al. 2008). About 100 barrows line the access road to the settlement, fortified by a massive rampart and several ditches; the barrows are placed in proximity of the settlement but not quite adjacent. The mementos of the dead were difficult to ignore upon entering the hillfort. Movement through the landscape surrounding the settlement, as well as the corresponding burial monuments, seems to have been an important feature of the funerary ritual – men and women in procession are shown on many *situlae* artworks, but nowhere as clearly as on the *situla* from Grave 68, Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Bartoloni and Morigi Govi 1995, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64).

In the eastern Hallstatt area, it seems that monumental burial mounds were not exclusively built for one individual, with secondary interments reflecting subordinate individuals or later additions, but rather that burial mounds were built for several individuals in the first place. New excavations at Strettweg, Austria (Tiefengraber and Tiefengraber 2014), for example, have demonstrated that high-status individuals were buried in small groups even in monumental tumuli, and a clear ‘primary individual’ is difficult to make out. Contrary to previous suggestions (Egg 1996a), it does not look as though women were sacrificed at the event of a ruler’s death, but had status in their own right.

An international project (Armit et al. 2014) is currently exploring the nature of landscape inhabitation in the east Alpine region. Particularly Slovenian centres such

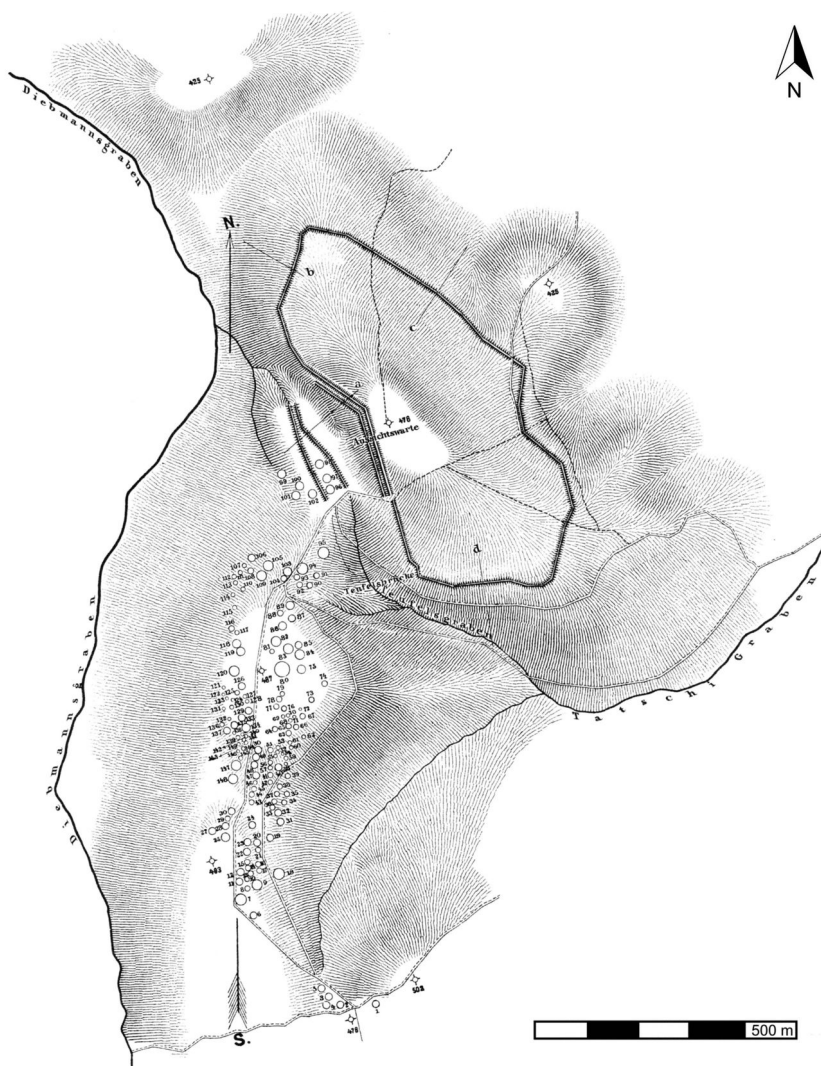


Figure 4.10 Settlement and access road lined with burial mounds at Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (after Bella and Müller 1891: pl. IV)

as Poštela (Mlekuž and Črešnar 2014) or Stična (Gabrovec et al. 2006, Gabrovec and Teržan 2008) are embedded in hundreds of burial mounds. Their placement in relation to landscape features, routes and pathways is not yet fully understood.

In Carniola, inhumation burials were arranged in large burial mounds around a centre that may or may not include a primary interment; the groups of individuals numbering into the hundreds are thought to represent families or clans. This claim

is difficult to substantiate in the area as skeletal preservation is particularly poor. At Kapiteljska njiva, Slovenia, for example (Fig. 4.11), Barrows A and B were excavated in the nineteenth century and are estimated to contain between 20 and 40 inhumations. Barrow 1 contained a central grave with stone packing, which was robbed, and 44 inhumations. Barrow 2 had a central area with several graves, but no clear single central grave; it contained 35 inhumations in total. Barrows 3 to 8 contained 56, 3, 74, 45, 42 and 12 inhumations, respectively, without there being a central grave at all. The burial mounds were in use between the mid-seventh and the mid-fourth century BC. Graves containing high-status items such as bronze *situlae*, sheet bronze belts and large numbers of amber and glass beads, were neither specially marked nor involved special constructions, suggesting a well-off community rather than single exceptional individuals with high status (Križ 1997a: 36).

Burial communities primarily included humans, but very occasionally, at the eastern fringes of the Hallstatt provinces, horses were included in the cemeteries (Dular 2007, Rebay-Salisbury in press-b). These are not to be confused with wagon burials and burials with horse gear, which do not normally include the animals. Beyond the Hallstatt area towards the east, the cemetery of Szentes-Vekerzug, Hungary (Kemenczei 2003, Párducz 1953: fig. 1), included 14 horse burials in the 151 graves, many of which were placed at the southern fringe of the cemetery. Their inclusion in the cemetery at all, however, might suggest they were attributed a form of personhood and seen as companions and parts of the community. This kind of personhood has not been extended to other animals such as dogs. It is easy to trace the inclusion of horses in cemeteries to the Ukrainian steppes, where kurgans of the sixth to fourth centuries BC include up to 16 horses (Rolle 1979: 96–112). Fully equipped with bridles, saddles and breast plates, horses were

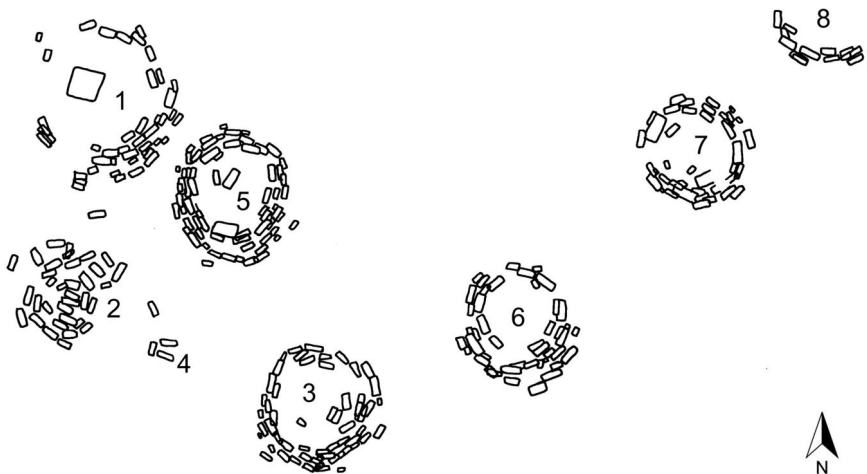


Figure 4.11 Burial mounds of Kapiteljska njiva (after Križ 1997a: 24)

killed and deposited in rows near the entrance to the main burial shaft. In such contexts they are clearly to be interpreted as grave goods. Horse bones in the fill of the burial mounds, however, may be relics of a burial rite described by the Greek historian Herodotus (*Histories* 4.72), according to which horses and attendants were strangled, disembowelled, filled with chaff and arranged in full bridle as mounted horsemen on stakes and posts around the burial mound.

5 The representation of the body

Images and imagined worlds

Human images visualise and mediate identity; they arise from a particular social context and were made for a certain purpose. The interpretation of these images, however, challenges the interpreter, who has to engage in the dialectic between the maker of the image and the depicted person(s). It is uncertain if an interpreter detached from the prehistoric context and symbolic language can fully understand what was meant to be seen and understood. When it comes to judging the readability of images (cf. Juwig and Kost 2010: 14–15), individual researchers of prehistoric image worlds range widely between optimism and pessimism; without additional information such as texts, which supply a reference point, a hermeneutic interpretation is not particularly fruitful (Eggert 2010: 58–62). Using analogies from the classical world to interpret early Iron Age images in central Europe comes with its own pitfalls. It risks projecting image contexts on to communities which might not have understood the images in the same way. At the same time, communities did actually import these images, and thus transferred and integrated the context of these images in various ways. Almost all stories and scenes from the Hallstatt world can in some way be traced to parallels in the Mediterranean. This demonstrates connections, but does not mean they were locally understood in the same way – or that we understand the early Iron Age images correctly.

Accepting that a full understanding of early Iron Age images and the stories they tell might be an illusion, we can focus on how the image works rather than what the image tells; how it generates meaning and affects people and societies. To add a further layer of complexity, human images can be understood as art. It is much debated (cf. Gell 1998: 5–7) how art can be defined, particularly in a sociological and anthropological framework of interpretation. Most simply, ‘art is what is recognized as such’ (Gell 1998: 6), but art objects may have ‘semantic and/or aesthetic properties that are used for presentational or representational properties’ (Morphy 1994: 655). According to Alfred Gell the role of art lies in its function in constituting social relations through the abduction of agency (Gell 1998). Anthropological art theory has supplied helpful ideas for tackling the complex world of early Iron Age images.

To interpret the human body in its artistic representation, the principles of reading body language need to be considered. Facial expressions and some

gestures link to our evolutionary past (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 372); they have developed over the course of human development and are, when not masked and covered by cultural conventions, universally understandable. Facial expressions, for instance, the motions and positions of the muscles of the face, are particularly important in non-verbal communication, as they are tied to a person's emotive state and can only be partially controlled. The transcultural and universal comprehensibility of some aspects of facial and body language provides a unique opportunity to bridge the gap to the past, because the expression and reading of emotions are likely to have remained constant over time. Further, one may draw tentative conclusions from aspects of depictions that may not have been the primary concern of the artist: different forms of dress and adornment, actions in which people engage and the material culture associated with different kinds of bodies give clues as to how identities are constructed through bodily practices.

5.1 The multi-layered nature of art objects

Representational art is first and foremost selective. Art provides a frame for the selected subject, the motif, which is chosen from reality or from the imagination. The motif, however, is not the whole story, as multiple further components make up the piece of art. After the selection of the motif, design principles and formal composition constitute the second layer. Style might be defined as the third layer, and last, images differ in details. In addition, images are found on a range of different objects, and the material and techniques employed to create a piece of art greatly influence the outcome.

It is important to note that similarities between images can occur at varying levels, which is important for the transmission of motifs; although the selection of the motif and the formal composition may be imported, style and details may be adjusted to local preferences. In order to understand properly dependencies between images of the Mediterranean and the Hallstatt world, we must therefore dissect the image and evaluate its components accordingly.

Comparing three roughly contemporary images of feasting in the ancient world illustrates this principle (Fig. 5.1). The scenes from the Greek, Etruscan and Hallstatt imagery depict the same motif, chosen from the real or imagined world. The picture is framed as a selection of a few acting people and some furniture items, indicating an indoor scene. Although the number and positions of people vary, there are similarities in the way the people are set up to engage with each other. The style of the images differs substantially. Objects, materials and techniques employed in the creation of the scene are most radically different: on the ceramic bell *kratēr*, the scene is executed in painting and skilful firing, the Etruscan image is a painting in a tomb and the *situla* from Kuffern was made on sheet bronze in repoussé and chasing technique. As we will see later, material and technology significantly affect the expressivity of the image. The details of the image are most informative in terms of reading identity – hairstyle, dress and objects are adjusted to local preferences and customs.



Figure 5.1 Symposia on an Attic red-figure bell kratēr, c. 420 BC (© Marie-Lan Nguyen, Wikimedia Commons), on a wall painting in the Tomba dei Leopardi, Tarquinia, Italy, c. 480–450 BC (public domain, Wikimedia Commons), and on the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria, c. 475–425 BC (© Naturhistorisches Museum Wien).

5.2 Art as sign language and in communication

The different layers of art can be juxtaposed with the different layers of language and communication (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 25–26). The language of words enables us to talk about people and things that are not present, describe without pointing and talk about past and future. Word language is often considered to be fundamental to human thinking. Communication via verbal language, however, requires a shared reference vocabulary; communication across linguistic and cultural borders, or indeed across time, therefore has its limits. Body language, in contrast, is formed by our evolutionary history and is in part transculturally understandable, whilst specific signs, gestures and body positions transport cultural meaning. Body language is frequently used to transport social messages and is affective. Communication via images and signs are the third and fourth layers of communication. They are set deliberately to enable association with people, things and memories (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 35). After the *iconic turn* (Samida 2010) images are taken more seriously in their own right, and the visual qualities and effects of images came to be more appreciated. Thinking through images, as opposed to translating them into language, came to be accepted as a way of engaging. To which extent the language of images and signs is readable outside the cultural context and to which extent meaning can be recovered by archaeological analysis is, however, still the question.

Semiotics, the study of signs and their communicative effects, is helpful here. The semiotic method aims to systematise the signs in an image and the context from which they arise, as well as understand the rules according to which the signs in an image came into being (Dotzler 1983: 48). From Charles Sanders Peirce's typology of object relations, which aims to classify signs according to the type of relationships between reality and image (Peirce 1955), the distinction between icon, index and symbol is useful. The icon is structurally similar to the objects and thus establishes an immediate relation; it provides a simplified version of reality. The meaning of an icon is self-explanatory and does not need to be learned. The sign also has many properties in common with what it stands for. The index, in contrast, does not directly represent the object but provides a pointer to what it really is. It shows reality in a limited way, but retains an actual relation to the subject. The indexical sign is physically caused by what it stands for. Smoke, for example, indexes fire. Finally, the symbol stands for something other than what it shows. It is arbitrarily chosen to signify a meaning, which has to be learned. Its relationship to the object relies on cultural customs, rules and conventions and cannot be read outside the cultural context and without clues to decode the symbol. The symbolic dimension of prehistoric objects is therefore not accessible (Burmeister 2003, Eggert 2010: 64).

The analysis of prehistoric art can, however, reveal conscious and unconscious semiotic considerations in the prehistoric material: the limits of their interpretation become more clearly highlighted (Dotzler 1983: 60). The problem lies in the fact that the classification as such already provides difficulties: whereas the iconic and indexical character of images might be read, the symbolic dimension of the

very same images remains obscure. Alfred Gell (Gell 1998: 6) argues most radically that art may be icon and index, but not symbol; he rejects the notion that art can have meaning in the sense that language does.

How the transmission of messages works is well described by the Shannon-Weaver model (Fig. 5.2, Shannon 1948, Shannon and Weaver 1963), widely used in communication theory. In this model, information is sent from a source by a transmitter or sender via a signal to the receiver. Upon decoding the signal, the message reaches its destination. The first crucial point is that both sender and recipient of the message are embedded in a common social context and must share

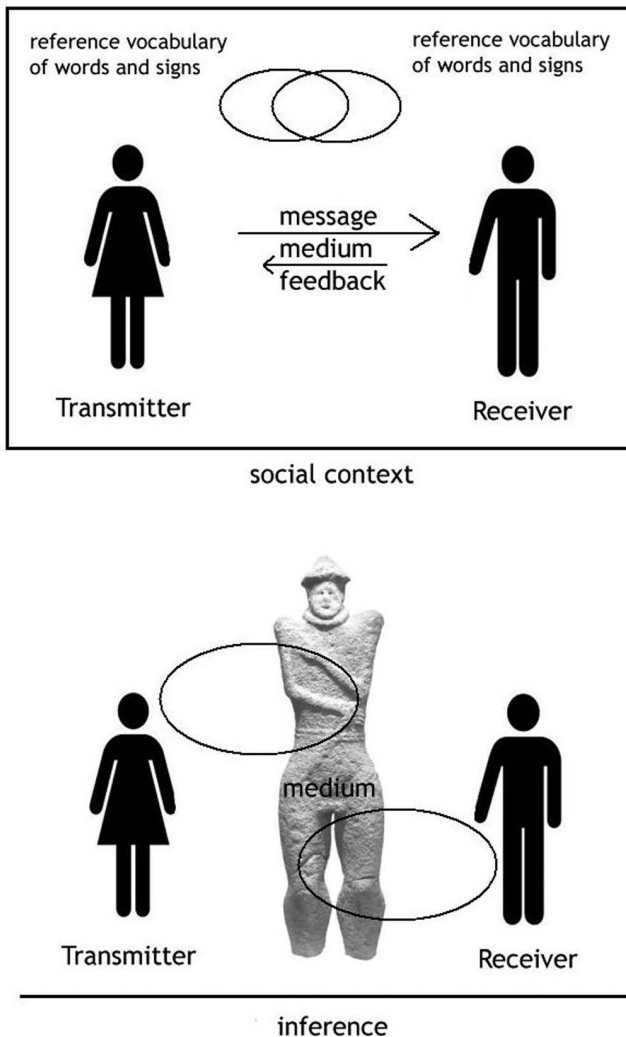


Figure 5.2 Communication models without and with art as the medium of the message

a reference vocabulary. Of course, the reference vocabulary or set of signs is never 100 per cent the same between two persons, but sufficient overlap is necessary to make communication possible. What is thought and expressed in words is not always understood as intended by the recipient. The second crucial point is that the message is sent encoded through a medium, but is susceptible to disruptions. Problems such as incompatible languages, ambiguity, cultural differences or limited perception can change the message.

If an art object takes the place of the medium, communication can in principle still occur in the same way; but other than with language, the medium as the message remains constant through time. The message remains encoded in the object, even outside the cultural context, which may be generations removed and displaced. The recipients may change, but the encoded message is still transmitted and read. The piece of art becomes a field of inference and can still work through affecting the viewer. Meaning is created through abduction, a form of inference that does not depend on knowledge of cultural convention (Layton 2003: 454).

5.3 Art as agency

The active role of art is central to Alfred Gell's reading. He interprets art as a system of action (Gell 1998: 6) and focusses on art in terms of its social relations rather than its semantic or aesthetic value. The social life of the object, its social context of production, circulation and reception, is the topic of his studies. Gell considers art a component of technology; art objects are made beautiful to exercise agency and achieve certain ends. This 'technology of enchantment' uses the artist's power to make things with striking effects: art plays a role in psychological warfare and magic; it creates desires and social relations.

The work of art is inherently social in a way which the merely beautiful or mysterious object is not: it is a physical entity which mediates between two beings, and therefore creates a social relation between them, which in turn creates a channel for further social relations and influences.

(Gell 1992: 52)

Art objects can substitute persons or agents (Gell 1998: 5) in that they affect people actively. Art can captivate and fascinate, attract or repulse; it may be difficult, both in production and in being understood. It may be creative and unusual and provoke thinking. Art can be enjoyable, but equally it can be confusing and scary; as such it may be employed to ward off evil and protect against enemies. The way in which art works as an agent lies in the way it triggers abductive inferences and cognitive interpolations. Art can be understood as the initiator of causal threads; although art does not actually have agency, it is believed to be and understood as acting and therefore does have secondary agency.

Two steps are necessary to turn art objects into social agents: First, the construction of the 'index', the material entities that motivate abductive inferences. The authors of the index may be artists or artisans, but also patrons who commission

art; further, art may be believed to have divine origins. Second, the art object needs to become integrated into the network of social relations. The recipients enter into a relationship with the object that references the prototype – they see the object and the object acts on them. The perception of the object changes the thinking and feelings of the recipient. Art as a field of inference can act independent from the cultural environment. One example Gell (1998: 13) used to elucidate this matter is that of a person smiling in a picture: the recipients infer for both the actual person and the picture that the person is friendly, as there is a direct relationship between a person smiling and the emotion of happiness.

The notion of art as agency is particularly seductive for interpreting human representations within a network perspective. Understanding human images as part of a social network does not exclude their aesthetics and semantics, which are ‘integral to and to understanding the impact that art works have on people’ (Morphy 2009: 5). But art as agency goes beyond this notion: it demonstrates how ideas about the human body were transmitted over long periods and large geographical areas as well as cultural boundaries.

6 The image and the object

Art is made to be viewed (Gell 1998: 24), but not everything classified as an artistic representation of the human body was produced for the sake of being art. Images are made both in their own right and as an ornament, adorning objects of different materials and functions. This chapter focuses on the objects as image carriers and considers their materials, production technologies and their place in *chaînes opératoires*, as well as their functions, uses and depositional contexts.

6.1 The image database

In order to best capture the complex properties and qualities of human images in the early Iron Age, a relational database linked to a geographic information system (GIS) was designed in the course of the ‘Tracing Networks’ research programme.¹ Data were recorded at five levels: site, context, object, scene and individual. The database is briefly described here as it forms the basis of the image analysis in the following chapters.

The site level records information on the name(s) of archaeological sites, the modern political entity (country) the site is located in, altitude above sea level, latitude and longitude in geographical coordinates to enable mapping and the level of accuracy of the geographical information (spot on, within 1 km, 5 km or mapped after the site name without further knowledge of the accuracy). Geographical coordinates (decimal degrees to six decimal places) as well as altitude were taken from Google Earth after identifying the site on the aerial image or on a map from the literature. The site type information gives a coarse classification (e.g., single find, settlement, cemetery, burial mounds, hoard and sanctuary) with the possibility of multiple entries.

The context information records the original name of a context, including grave numbers, layer numbers, areas, etc. Information on graves is further classified according to grave type: cremation or inhumation, urn or scattered cremation. Anthropological information on sex and age of the buried individual in a context is recorded, as well as the most likely gender according to the combination of finds. The relative dating of the context after the literature and its justification is recorded, as well as translated into absolute dates (see Section 3.2). The chronological bracket aims to be as realistic as possible and ranges between 50 and

100 years in most cases, although single finds dated only by stylistic means can often not be dated more specifically than within several hundred years. If useful for dating or gender assessment, a list of objects from the same context is added.

A large number of objects were studied directly in central European museums. Each individual object that represents a human or is decorated by one or more human images is linked to an image and exact citation; whenever possible, the primary publication is used; alternatively the publication with the best image. The primary material the object is made of is recorded (bone, bronze, bronze and iron, ceramic, faience, ivory, lead, sandstone, stone), followed by a typological classification at three levels. The dating of the object, most often, but not always identical to the dating of the context, is noted in relative and absolute terms. The date is normally based on the literature (see Section 3.2 for more details on dating) and translated into absolute terms. If a date is given as 'fifth century BC' it is translated as 500 to 400 BC, a date of 'circa 600 BC' is translated as 625 to 575 BC. The relative dates of the Hallstatt period range between 800 and 450 BC (with the sub-phasing Ha C1 = 800 to 710 BC, Ha C2 = 710 to 625 BC, Ha D1 = 625 to 550 BC, Ha D2 = 550 to 500 BC, Ha D3 = 500 to 450 BC). The condition of the object is listed as complete, almost complete, fragment or reconstructed; measurements of height and width of the object are recorded in mm. The production technique of the human image on the object is recorded at up to three different levels of detail in order of priority for the making of the human image. Last, information on the current location of the object, museum inventory numbers and additional information on the object biography are noted.

A unique identifier is used for each scene that features people. The number of human images in a scene is recorded, as well as a description of the scene, interpretations and a list of associated animals and objects.

The level of the individual human image is the data sheet with the most records. A single record was created for each depicted individual and linked to all previously recorded information. Data on the individuals record the perspective (shown from the front, front-left, front-right, front-turned with feet facing outside, left, left-front, left-right, right, right-front, right-left, three-dimensional) and the mode of depiction (cut-out, geometric, relief, outline, outline with pattern, outline with perspective, flexibly shaped, stick figure). The figure type classifies standard, recurrent representations as body part, boxer, carrier, driver, hunter, hybrid, man, musician, orant, person, ploughman, rider, rower, textile worker, wagon guide, wagon rider, warrior and woman. A full description of the image follows. Next, human images are described as naked or dressed, in some cases naked except for a belt. The sex of the person, if clearly shown by genitalia or breasts, is recorded as male or female, but deliberately sexless depictions are noted as well. The gender of the person as signalled via dress, jewellery or attributes is recorded separately. After the description of the dress, body parts are described. Head, arms, hands, legs and feet are recorded in terms of the way they are depicted and in which position the body parts are held; further, objects associated with the head, right or left arm are listed. The posture and gestures of the person are recorded next; last, the size of the human image in mm and its position on the object are given.

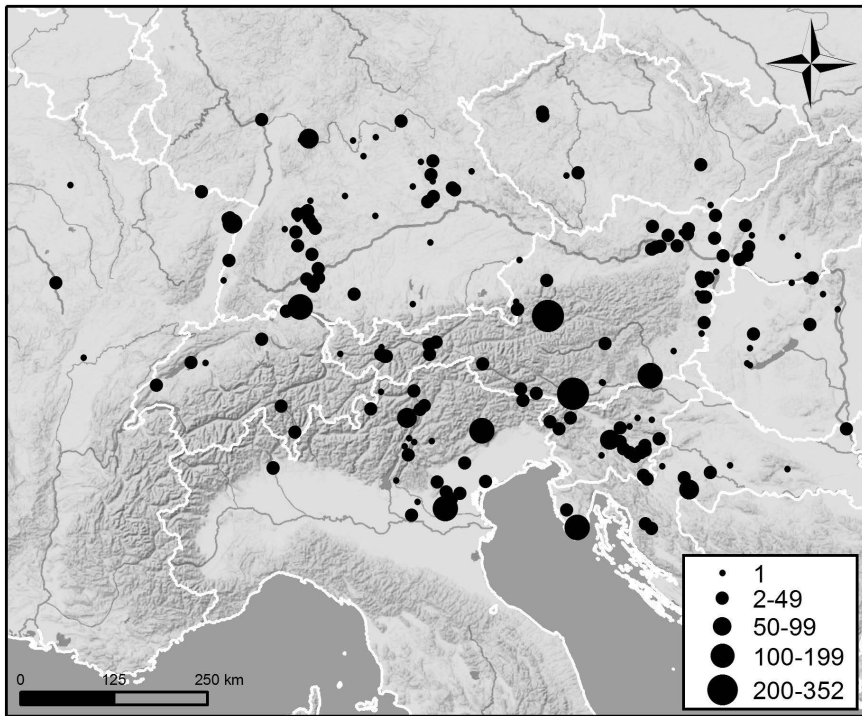


Figure 6.1 Number of individual human representations per site ($n = 3068$)

The quantitative analysis of early Iron Age human images is, due to a high number of repetitions, not always straightforward. Individually crafted human images in clay, for instance, would be vastly outnumbered by hundreds of punches in human form found on a single sheet bronze belt; similarly, hundreds of very similar lead figurines found at the site of Frög, Austria, would foreground one burial site at the expense of others. The analysis must therefore normalise the data by site and object as appropriate (Fig. 6.1).

6.2 Objects

Human images appear as or on a range of different object classes, which are briefly described here and discussed in terms of how humans interacted with these objects, engaged with them and used them. Statues, sculptures and figurines – 3D images of humans – are specifically produced to represent the human form. In contrast to many other kinds of objects discussed later, the human image is not a decorative addition; the intention and purpose of statues, sculptures and figurines is the representation of a person (Rebay-Salisbury 2014). Other object classes include plaques, personal objects such as weaponry and jewellery, vessels made of bronze and ceramics, furniture and tools.

6.2.1 Statues, sculptures and rock art

Statues and sculptures are roughly life sized and carved out of (sand-)stone. In early Iron Age central Europe they are somewhat rare finds. Often found moved and out of context, there is some debate as to whether to date individual finds to the early Iron Age, which results in changing numbers in the literature (c. 30, cf. Baitinger and Pinsker 2002: 313–327, Duceppe-Lamarre 2002). Best known and among the best preserved is the statue of the warrior of Hirschlanden, Germany (Zürn 1970: 167, pl. A), found in a ditch surrounding a burial mound dating to about 600 BC. The statue was originally placed on top of the burial mound as a grave marker. The feet are missing, but the rest of the statue still measures 1.5 m. Although the warrior is naked, he is depicted with a round, pointed hat – perhaps a birch-bark hat or a conical helmet – a large neck ring, a belt and a late Hallstatt dagger. The upper body appears slim in comparison to the muscular, strong legs, and the hands are placed in front of the body in a particular gesture: the right arm is wrapped around the body with the right hand on the left side of the waist; the left arm is bent and the left hand is placed just below the right shoulder. Whether this gesture expresses a particular meaning (Armit and Grant 2008) or is the result of technical constraints working a difficult material (Mielke 2013) is currently debated. There is little doubt that the Hirschlanden warrior is a grave monument and a monument to an actual, perhaps heroised, human being buried in the burial mound. This interpretation has become even more likely with the discovery of the monumental statue of the ‘Lord of the Glauberg’ (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002), dating slightly later around 500 BC, the early La Tène period. Every little detail of the statue finds its equivalent in an inhumation grave excavated near the place the statue was found, from the leaf crown to the torc pendants and the wooden shield. And yet the Glauberg warrior is only the best preserved of the statues – fragments of at least three further very similar statues have been found in the ditch system surrounding the grave monuments. This suggests that the image of the high-status warrior, and perhaps also social and religious leader, was less individualised and personalised, but fabricated using particular material culture and body styles.

Returning to the early Iron Age, there are a number of further stone monuments with anthropomorphic traits, although they are much more stylised, such as the stelae from Tübingen-Kilchberg (Beck 1974: 260–264, figs 10–12), Stammheim (Ströbel 1952: 42, fig. 16), Gomaringen-Stockach (Riek 1941: pl. 10, figs 1–3), Rottenburg (Huth 2003: pl. 23, fig. 2), Ebrach (Spindler 1983: 183, fig. 29), Rai-Breitenbach (Kimmig 1987a: 267, fig. 17) and Birkach (Kimmig 1987a: 271, fig. 29), all southern Germany. These statue-stelae represent little more than a head and upper body and are quite varied in appearance. Also for these finds, an interpretation as grave markers is likely. Grave markers in the form of simple, plain stelae were widespread throughout the Hallstatt area.

Two seated, life-sized limestone figures, one of a woman and one of a warrior, were unearthed from slightly different contexts. They were found in a sanctuary not far from the famous tomb of Vix near Mont Lassois in France, more precisely at the end of a rectangular ditch with an entrance, measuring 26 metres by

24.5 metres and dating to around 500 BC (Chaume and Reinhard 2002, Chaume and Reinhard 2003: 258–259, figs 8 and 10). Both figures are missing heads and are shown seated on the ground with their knees drawn in. The woman wears a long garment and a torc; the warrior clasps a shield placed in front of the legs. The body positions of the human statues are unique in the early Iron Age world. Nevertheless, the funerary–ritual context suggests a similar function of the monuments to the German statues, perhaps as representations of the heroised deceased.

The most peculiar group of stone monuments was unearthed in Nesactium, Croatia (Fischer 1984), a fortified settlement with a sanctuary that later became the centre of the ancient tribe of the Histri. The high degree of fragmentation makes an interpretation of the pieces difficult. There are several parts of legs and feet, a hand, two male torsos with the arms and hands in similar position to the statue of Hirschlanden and a male lower body with an erect penis. The head of a woman with earrings and headband and the statue of a rider on horseback with most of the upper body missing are amongst the more complete finds, as is the Janus head, that is, two heads with a headband and combed hair or helmets joined together at the back. Most unusual, however, is the body of a naked female statue (Fischer 1984: pl. 8, fig. 1) with the head missing. Her right breast is visible as well as both arms and hands held in front of the body. Her left hand appears to spread her vulva open; the legs are slightly bent and the feet are missing. Across the left upper body is a bundle interpreted as a baby – as such, the monument represents giving birth and may point to fertility cults. The closest classical analogy is Artemis Kouroutrophos, the nurse of youths (Fischer 1984: 39).

Monumental stone sculptures are neither restricted to the early Iron Age nor to central Europe. Iberian warrior statues from northwestern Spain and Portugal (Duceppe-Lamarre 2002); the cross-legged seated statues from Roquepertuse, Glanum and Entremont; the head pillars with both real skulls and sculptured human heads from southern France (Armit 2012); and the Picenian statues such as the ones from Capistrano (Frey 2007, Naso 2000) give further clues to the tradition of monumentality in Iron Age Europe, despite their differences in style. Further, it is quite likely that monumental sculptures and statues of wood have existed, as finds preserved in special circumstances such as the wooden statue from Saône à Seurre, France (905–352 cal. BC, Chaume and Reinhard 2003: 265, fig. 13) or the wooden carvings from the Viereckschanze of Fellbach-Schmidlen, Germany (127 cal. BC, Wieland 1999) demonstrate.

Human representations pecked into rock surfaces are a large body of imagery that cannot be ignored. Like statues and monuments, they are fixed in space and not integrated into the trade and exchange of goods. Rock art has to be experienced *in situ*. The places rock art is found in are remote Alpine areas, for instance, the Val Camonica, Italy (Anati 1994, Bevan 2006), or Mont Bego, France (Louis and Isetti 1964). The number of images has been estimated at around 300,000 (Huth 2010: 130). Whether or not these images can be attributed to the early Iron Age, however, is currently debated (Pause 1997, Schuhmacher 1983). Dating difficulties mean that they are commonly discussed in separate studies, although some themes and objects found on Iron Age art do also occur at rock-art sites. The

social embedding of human images on rock art is probably the most difficult to understand. Human images in the Val Camonica (Anati 1994), at the intersection between the Villanovan and Hallstatt spheres, derive from an ideological background that is shared with contemporary Iron Age groups and draws on familiar motifs and stereotypical depictions. The context of image technology and production, however, is radically different and has little in common with other material culture. No raw material procurement is necessary except the selection of the right panel. Pecking an image needs little or no tool preparation and can be done relatively spontaneously and outside a household context. Human images in the Val Camonica are rather small in size, but include many repetitions on rock panels, which must have been kept vegetation free for a longer period. Rock art might therefore be associated with travelling, shepherding grazing animals, hunting and finding directions. That these activities are primarily, but not exclusively, associated with a male social sphere might explain the large numbers of warriors and hunters on the panels; interesting exceptions that prove the rule are the depictions of looms and people engaged in weaving, an activity often ascribed to the female gender. The dense packing and overlaying of images indicate that the panels were returned to, viewed and reused over and over again; the image reception went on for generations, and therefore rock art probably played a role in shaping ideas about society.

6.2.2 *Figurines (and cut-outs)*

Figurines are defined as ‘small moulded or sculptured figures’, ‘small statues of a person’ or ‘models of a bodily form’², focussing on their size as a defining property. Their dimensions are commonly adjusted to being held, handled and manipulated by a human hand. This is especially true for ceramic figurines; figurines made of other materials, such as bone, bronze or lead, are often smaller. The wide variety of sizes, materials, technologies and contexts of figurines suggest that they were made and used by a variety of people and for different functions. Of the 697 individuals, there are 320 lead figurines (all but one from a single site), 240 bronze figurines (of which the majority is cast, but 35 are cut from sheet bronze), 113 ceramic figurines, 18 faience and 6 bone figurines. The materials and technologies employed in making the figurines significantly influence the way the bodies are formed (Rebay-Salisbury 2014). Ceramic figurines, for instance, often have a plump, cylindrical and emphasised body core, whereas legs and arms are kept short to avoid breakage; metal figurines predominantly have a slim body core and long arms and legs; lead figurines can easily be bent after casting and show the widest variety in gestures. On average, figurines are 53 mm high, although again this depends much on the material used. Ceramic figurines measure, on average, 80 mm, bronze figurines 71 mm, but lead figurines only 35 mm.

The representations show individual traits, not so much between the individual figurines, but within the specific contexts they are found. It is therefore hard to summarise their generic properties. About 35 per cent of all figurines are of a naked person, 17 per cent of figurines are clearly shown dressed and a few wear

only a belt. Men are much more often depicted than women, regardless of whether only figurines with explicit sexual parts are counted in this category or if other gender indicators such as weaponry and dress are also taken into account. The sex of 131 figurines could be identified as male, normally by the penis being shown, and 46 as female; interestingly, there are also 54 figurines depicted as sexless. In these cases, it is not a matter of preservation or ambiguity that the artisan did not give any clues (see Section 7.3 for further details). Ceramic figurines counter this general trend – many more ceramic figurines depict females than males. This may be a reflection of the gender of the producer or the specific contexts the figurines were found in (Fig. 6.2).

Ceramic figurines occur from settlement, grave and ritual contexts; the late Bronze Age predecessors are typically settlement finds and appear to be made in an ad hoc fashion (e.g., Bad Buchau-Wasserburg, Germany, Lac du Bourget, France, Primas 2008, Uslar 1964). Such finds continue into the early Iron Age and are often classified as stray finds (e.g., Eisenstadt-Burgstall, Austria, Reichenberger 2000: 215, pl. 18, fig. 76) or were found in pits (e.g., Wiesbaden-Erbenheim, Germany, Großweikersdorf, Austria, Amann-Ille and Ille 1994, Tripp 1941). Further ceramic figurines come from funerary contexts, such as the sets from Gemeinlebarn and Langenlebarn, Austria (Fig. 6.3, Plate 10, Kromer 1958, Preinfalk 2003), which were found in monumental burial mounds located about 20 kilometres apart along the Danube. Similarities in the grave construction and furnishing, including almost identical pieces of pottery, suggest strong connections between the communities that built the mounds around 600 BC, if not the same craftspeople or a common place of production. Tumulus 1 (of three) from Gemeinlebarn was a mound 50 metres in diameter with a large wooden chamber. Although no human remains were recovered, the nineteenth-century excavation revealed a sword and horse gear alongside a large set of elaborately shaped and decorated pottery (Dungel and Szombathy 1903); a horse burial, remains of a funerary pyre and a wagon were found outside the central chamber in subsequent excavations (Neugebauer-Maresch and Neugebauer 1996). The set of figurines from Gemeinlebarn comprises at least 14 human figurines and a number of animal representations, including a horse and seven four-legged animals of different sizes, one of which can almost certainly be identified as a stag. Both human and animal representations have traces of resin on their legs and feet, suggesting they

	<i>Nudity</i>			<i>Sex</i>			<i>Gender</i>		
	<i>dressed</i>	<i>naked</i>	<i>belt</i>	<i>sexless</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>sexless</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>
ceramic	16	63	4	40	25	9	4	31	14
bronze	82	75	3	6	14	65	4	62	116
lead	0	117	0	0	16	57	0	39	89
all	121	255	7	54	47	131	9	136	222

Figure 6.2 Figurines, nudity, sex and gender

were fixed to an object such as a wagon of organic material or a large vessel and were intended to be viewed from various sides. Tumulus 3 from Langenlebern had already been re-opened several times before the set of figurines was discovered in one corner of the chamber in 1981 (Preinfalk 2003). This set seems slightly less complete, but included at least eight human figurines, one of them a rider, as well as a horse and four other four-legged animals.

Those figurines preserved in full length are about 10 cm tall. Their body core is a slab, with rolled arms and legs. The heads of the Gemeinlebern figurines are globular, and breakage points suggest they were added and merged with the core body at the forming stage. The facial features include moulded eye sockets, noses and ears; eyes are circular stamps and the mouths indicated by horizontal incisions. One figurine even has incised nostrils. Necklaces are rows of small, round stamps or horizontal incisions. Five figurines have attached breasts; curiously, it is only the right breast that is carried out as a clay addition, whereas the left breast is painted. Many, if not all, of the figurines are painted in red and black like the rest of the pottery in the grave. Where preserved, the painting is either done in horizontal bands over the body, perhaps indicating clothes, or it splits the figurine at the central symmetry line into a red half and a black half. Some figurines of the Gemeinlebern set are clearly marked as females, but other figurines appear sexless. This pattern is repeated with the Langenlebern set; this time, however, there are three clearly male figurines, as indicated by the addition of a penis. Their bodies are again painted black and red, split at the central line and their arms are raised to the head. Other figurines do not have any sexual markers and appear not to have been painted; their shape differs from the others through an elongated neck. Their heads and particularly their faces are not very well preserved. In contrast to the Gemeinlebern figurines, the core shape of the heads is cylindrical. Eyes and noses are indicated in a similar fashion, but the region of the mouths is elongated, broken off and not preserved, which makes it impossible ultimately to determine their form. Only the rider's face is complete, but very rudimentary in form with a pinched nose and stamped eyes. The Gemeinlebern set is clearly the more elaborate of the two; shaping and decoration show more attention to detail. Nevertheless, they remain very closely matched assemblages in both the technologies used for their construction and the types of persons they represent. As a set, they most likely comprised a scene such as the one shown on the Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a) in bronze.

Ceramic figurines from a sanctuary near a funerary site at Turska kosa, Croatia (Fig. 6.3, Balen-Letunić 2004, Čučković 2008a), offer insights into different depositional contexts. Whereas the oldest layers of Cult Location I date between the ninth and seventh centuries BC, the layers dating from around 600 to 300 BC contained numerous sherds from broken vessels and a range of miniatures such as spindle whorls, spools, small representations of loafs of bread and boats, as well as animal and human figurines (Čučković 2004: 199). The 49 human figurines published in recent exhibition catalogues show only rudimentary bodily features, but focus on markers of identity such as sex and dress elements as indicators of status. The body core is made of a thick, flat slab of clay, which is little worked at the back, indicating

that the figurines were designed to be placed on their back rather than to be shown in three dimensions. There are, however, a number of seated figurines with clearly modelled buttocks and bent legs (e.g., Balen-Letunić 2004: No. 19.2, 19.3, 22.21 and 29.2), as well as figurines of riders with legs shaped in a way that means they can easily sit on a horse figurine (e.g., Balen-Letunić 2004: No. 22.24 and 22.25). The Turska kosa figurines are most likely individual representations made to be deposited in a sanctuary; they do not tell a story as in the examples earlier, but emphasise aspects of identity, which most likely mirror those of the dedicators.

Bronze figurines are also a varied object group, and boundaries between figurines, plaques, pendants and other decorative elements are blurred. North of the Alps, they are primarily stray finds or grave goods, whereas in Alpine areas and south of the Alps they are most often found in sanctuaries that may date from the late Bronze Age well into the Roman period (around 1300 BC to 400 AD). The stylistic continuity of some sites often makes a precise dating of individual figurines impossible. The objects show varying degrees of refinement in their craftsmanship. A range of different techniques is employed to work bronze, and in principle a greater level of expertise is needed to work bronze figurines than, for instance, those in ceramic. Most common is the lost wax (*cire perdue*) casting or casting in a mould, though a simpler technique is cutting small, flat figurines out of sheet bronze pieces. Making figurines by the lost-wax technique requires shaping a wax model, which is then stabilised in the clay mould. This method lends itself extraordinarily well to shaping fragile necks, arms and legs and arranging body positions and gestures in a three-dimensional way (Rebay-Salisbury 2014). Bronze figurines often appear very slim, probably because of the value of bronze and the ease of producing slim wax models. Surface decorations are often already anticipated in the wax model, and additional decoration indicating clothes and jewellery can be added to the finished cast by engraving, filing and polishing.

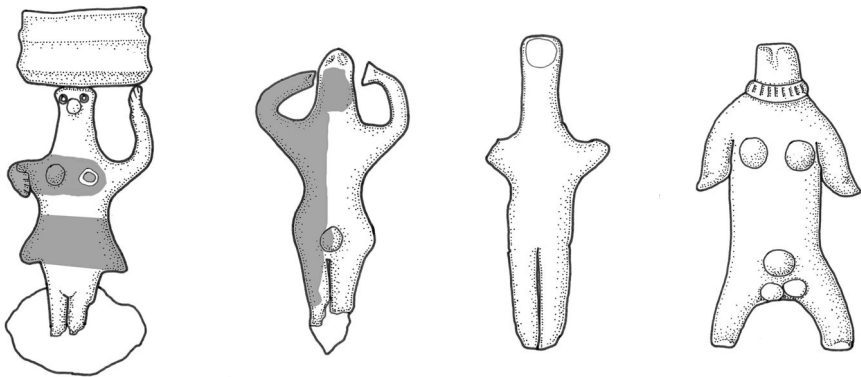


Figure 6.3 Female ceramic figurine from Gemeinlebarn, Austria (see also Plate 10), male and sexless figurine from Langenlebarn, Austria, androgynous figurine from Turska kosa, Croatia (c. 9 cm each, after Preinfalk 2003: 91, pl. 34.10, pl. 31.3, Balen-Letunić 2004: 337, No. 21)

The figurines that make up the Cult Wagon of Strettweg (Fig. 6.4) were worked so well after casting that almost no traces of the production processes remain (Plate 8, Egg 1996a: 19). The wagon was found in a very rich grave in Styria, Austria, and dates to about 600 BC. The figurines were arranged on a wheeled square platform and hold a central female figurine, which, at approximately 23 cm in height, is much larger than the rest of the figurines. At her feet, the scene of a sacrifice is repeated in mirror image. A pair of a female figurine and a male figurine shouldering an axe follows a pair of sexless figurines, who lead a stag by the antlers; they are in turn flanked by a pair of armed horsemen. The body proportions follow natural and artists' conventions of body proportions in some respects; the head of the figurines is about one-eighth of the length of the whole body, the legs start at about half the length of the figurine and the arms extend to the middle of the thighs (Bammes 1990). The torso and waist, however, are much slimmer than expected, and the extremities are slightly elongated. This is particularly visible in the central female figurine; instead of the conventional eighth of the body length for the waist ($23/8 \times 1 = 2.9$ cm) and one and a half times the eighth of the body length for the hips ($23/8 \times 1.5 = 4.3$ cm), the figurine's waist measures 1.6 cm across at the waist and 2.8 cm at the hips, only slightly more than half of the expected values. Figurines of similar elongated shapes are known, for example, from the Pillerhöhe, Austria (Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 1998: fig. 20), or Somló, Hungary (Patek 1984: pl. 22, 7). The heads of bronze figurines are often disproportionately large, especially when two conditions are met: facial features are shown and the figurine is small overall. Eyes, nose, mouth, chin and ears are the most commonly modelled facial features; hair, hats or helmets are represented in about half of these figurines (e.g., from Idrija pri Bači, Slovenia, Guštin 1991: pl. 22, Bernhardthal, Austria, Nebehay 1987: 219). The eyes, round or almond in shape, are often placed off centre and slightly too high on the head to appear natural, probably to use the available space more fully for details of the facial features.

Large numbers of bronze figurines have been unearthed in sanctuaries surrounding the prehistoric settlement of Este, Italy. Este-Baratella (Chieco Bianchi 2002), for instance, was most likely a sanctuary to the goddess Retia and was in use from the end of the seventh century BC to the second or third century AD. Amongst the numerous finds of offerings were animal bones, molluscs, botanical remains, everyday and miniature objects such as spinning and weaving tools, organ votives, about 700 figurative plaques and about 130 bronze statuettes. The 36 female and 48 male figures are gendered by garments; men are often shown with weaponry such as lances. Both male and female statues frequently hold a small bowl or vessel to characterise them as persons bringing offerings. The sanctuary of Montegrotto near Padova, Italy (Dämmer 1986), similarly contained hundreds of votive offerings, including bronze rider statues and large numbers of pottery cups.

Apart from one lead figurine, a stray find from Nyergesújfalu, Hungary (Egg 1996a: 50, fig. 29), all other lead figurines come from a single site, namely Frög, Austria. Gerhard Tomedi (Tomedi 2002) has published several hundred of these figurines, but due to the rather eventful antiquarian research and conservation

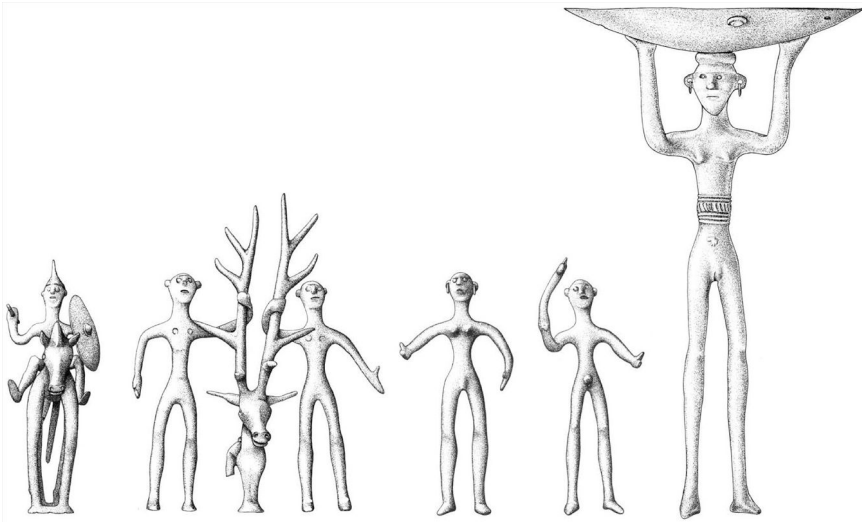


Figure 6.4 Figurines from the Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a: figs 10–14, © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, courtesy of Markus Egg)

history, many more can be considered lost and missing. The lead figurines were found in burial mounds with cremation graves, most of which date between 800 and 550 BC. There are only a few types of figurines, which are found in large numbers of repetitions. Some were used as small appliqués to decorate the outer surface of large ceramic vessels, whereas others were found in groups on the surface of the graves (Tomedi 2002: 259). The most popular type is a horse rider going towards the right (Plate 15); only a handful of riders go in the opposite direction. To indicate the masculinity and virility of the riders, the horses are often characterised as stallions – given the size constrictions on appliqués that are rarely more than 3 cm in height, some details of the riders themselves had to be omitted and transferred to the horses. The riders' arms are joined to the horses' reins and their legs to the horses' forelegs; this creates figures that lean back slightly, which is typical for the posture of bareback riders. Of the 123 human figurines other than horsemen, there are 9 heads, 75 male figurines and 38 female figurines. The naked bodies range from c. 3 cm to 10 cm in size and from normally proportioned to elongated figures; they are gendered through breasts and male genitals. Early excavators interpreted a group of long, male figures as representations of dead bodies due to their lifeless appearance (Tomedi 2002: 256, see pl. 94 for examples).

Figurines cut from old pieces of sheet bronze are primarily known from sanctuaries, where they comprise votive offerings of various shapes, including full bodies and body parts. Objects such as belts and vessels are recycled and reworked into new objects. The figurine from Ampass-Deimfeld, Austria (Fig. 6.5, Tomedi 2009: fig. 2),

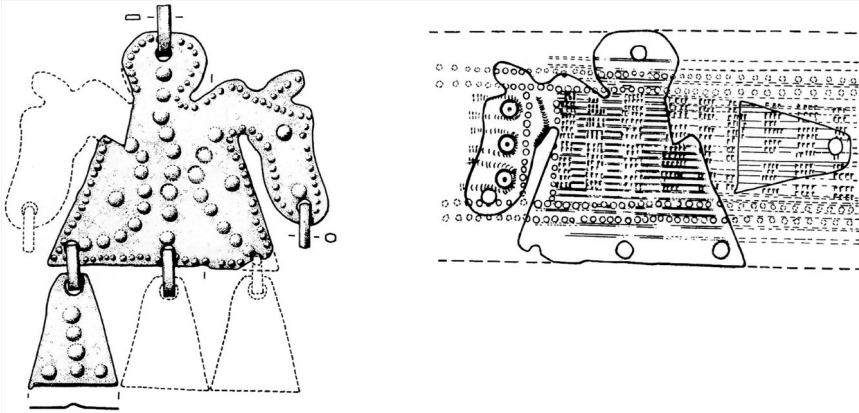


Figure 6.5 Figurine from Ampass-Demlfeld, Austria (Tomedi 2009: fig. 2, courtesy of Gerhard Tomedi)

for example, was cut from a sheet bronze belt of 6 cm width, thus limiting the figurine size. The figurine is the representation of a female with horse heads instead of arms and a number of small pendants attached to the bottom and is interpreted as an image of the goddess Raetia. The anthropomorphic shapes of the cut-outs are usually very simple. They avoid obvious breaking points such as necks or overly large limbs and focus entirely on the core of the body. Amongst the figures of the Mechel sanctuary are a number of cut-outs in the shape of humans, some plain, some with reinforcing punches at the edges or simple incisions and punches to give the image some decoration and elaboration (for examples see Marzatico 2001: fig. 75). Anatomical votives, representations of body parts such as arms and legs or genitals, become particularly common in the Venetian area (Ruta Serafini 2002) and further south into the Classical periods (e.g., Recke and Wamser-Krasznai 2008, van Straten 1981).

6.2.3 Plaques

Closely related to figurines are plaques; they are small, flat pieces of metal bearing an image or relief of one or more persons. Unlike figurines or cut-outs, they are neither three-dimensional nor follow the outline of a person. The shape of plaques is primarily rectangular, but some round or slightly shaped pieces are known. Many plaques have holes in the corners or on one or both sides, which suggests they were hung up or fixed to an object. The 16 lead plaques are cast and show a person with stretched-out hands inscribed in a rectangle standing on a double circle (Tomedi 2002: pl. 81). All other 110 bronze plaques are made of sheet bronze. The human images are rendered by different techniques: repoussé and chasing is most popular, with 82 instances, followed by incised ($n = 17$) and embossed ($n = 10$) images; in many cases the images are further incised or lined with point-boss decoration. The quality of the images varies. Certainly, for some plaques the

way in which they were carried out suggests that they were not always made by professional craftspeople. They appear very informal or 'self-made'. Cutting a human image from an existing bit of sheet bronze is certainly the technically least demanding way to make a human figure of bronze.

The context in which these kinds of representations were found suggests that they did not need to be durable; they were made for deposition and dedication and not to be viewed and handled. Except for the lead plaques, which were found in Tumulus 168, Grave 1 of the cemetery of Frög, Austria, all others come from sanctuaries. The plaques from each sanctuary show an individual 'handwriting' not necessarily repeated at other sites. The sanctuaries around Este, Italy, a major centre of the Veneti from the late Bronze Age to the Roman period, seem to cater to different groups of people, as some sanctuaries contain primarily images of warriors, whereas others contain images of females or anatomical parts (Ruta Serafini 2002). The Santuario Orientale contained many images of warriors on foot with large, round shields, helmets and lances; the Santuario Settentrionale also contained images of elaborately dressed women. Anatomical votives made of sheet bronze were also unearthed from the Santuario Sud-occidentale (Dämmer 2002, Gambacurta 2002), in many cases representations of male genitalia, although breasts, hands, one leg and one face are also part of the assemblage. The plaques from Altino (Tirelli 2002) show warriors, armed and some on horseback, as well as women dressed in local attire. The plaques from Vicenza (Zaghetto 2002a) frequently show more than one person. Repetitions of particular types, such as athletes and warriors, women and men, are stamped in rows on strips of sheet bronze. The round votive plaques from Montebelluno (Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004) show high-status women with keys in their hands, which most likely characterises them as heads of households.

The individuals on the plaques are, on average, 55 mm tall, although large figures on round votive plaques can measure up to 193 mm. Except for organ votives, which often show a body part from the front, most images of full persons are shown from the side; 117 face left and only 27 face right. Most people are shown fully dressed (80), and only 28 were clearly naked. Images of men are represented by 85 examples, most often as warriors carrying weapons such as lances and shields, more rarely on horseback. Fifty-seven images were those of women, characterised by their dress and especially their veil.

6.2.4 Personal objects

Personal objects are worn directly on or carried close to the body. For the most part they are thought to comprise personal property, to have been acquired during certain stages of the lifecycle and to accompany the deceased in the grave. They are all, with a few exceptions, made of bronze. Personal objects include weaponry such as helmets, daggers and swords, belts and jewellery, including *fibulae* and pendants. Most objects with context information come from graves, but there is a considerable number of stray finds in this object group; personal objects may relatively easily have been lost or dedicated in sanctuaries. Adorning personal

objects with human images were most likely meant to convey messages about personal qualities such as virility and power; anthropomorphic composite beings, for example, winged human faces, might point to an apotropaic function, calling upon the protection of spirits and deities.

The helmets from Brezje, Magdalenska gora, Tumulus 4 Grave 3 and Vače, Slovenia (Egg 1980b: 244, fig. 2, Hencken 1978: 108, Kromer 1959a: pl. 7), all have a pair of winged busts with human faces flanking the crest. The conical helmet from Oppeano, Italy (Pigorini 1878), shows a parade of horses interspersed with a sphinx; this hybrid being also has a winged human body, with the arms and hands with which he holds on to the horse in front, and with human legs; the animal body and hind legs are attached somewhere at the human's back. Another helmet from Magdalenska gora, Tumulus 4, Grave 1, of which only a fragment is preserved, shows a frieze of warriors made in repoussé and chasing, each with helmet, lance and shield and marching to the left (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: pl. 1, fig. 1). The motif of the warrior is also found on a Villanovan helmet of unknown provenience from Italy; here, a warrior is shown in point-boss decoration in a frontal posture, wearing exactly the shape of the helmet he adorns (Iaia 2005: 100, fig. 43).

Daggers are common in the later phase of the early Iron Age, particularly in western central Europe (Sievers 1982), and the shape of the handles frequently plays on the human form without explicitly depicting a person. The dagger from Hundertsingen, Hügel 1, Nachbestattung 2, for instance (Zürn 1970: 108, pl. O, fig. A1), has a two-part handle, dividing the person in the middle, a knob that could be read as a head and ends in two half-circles which look like the raised arms and hands of an orant.

Two stylistically plastic, nude human figures are inscribed into the ends of the handle of a dagger from Hallstatt, Grave 116, Austria (Kromer 1959b: pl. 16, fig. 3a). From the same site, Grave 641, comes another unique piece, an axe adorned with a small bronze figure of a horse and rider (Kromer 1959b: pl. 137). Although axes are part of the standard set of (eastern) Hallstatt weaponry, this particular item seems more of a ritual object. The famous sword scabbard from Hallstatt, Grave 994 (Kromer 1959b: pl. 202), also needs to be mentioned here; although it most likely dates to the middle La Tène period (Zimmermann 2009), the decoration and motifs remain rooted in Hallstatt art. The scenes show marching and mounted warriors, two pairs of men with wheels and a hard-to-read personal fight on the top of the scabbard. There are a number of decorated dagger scabbards from Este, Italy, one in repoussé and chasing, showing a man with spear and axe in the middle of a group of animals (Kern and Guichard 2008: 13). Others have incised decorations and show quite diverse motifs, such as a hybrid being, a rider amongst animals and warriors with raised axes (Frey 1969: pl. 66, Kromer 1962: 36, pl. 24). They are commonly thought to be among the ancestors of Situla Art; some decorated sword and dagger scabbards from further south in Italy (Bianco Peroni 1970), as well as razors (Bianco Peroni 1979), are decorated with hunting scenes. This places them firmly in the male sphere of action, but also underlines that daggers are multi-purpose objects that may be used for fighting, but also for hunting and butchering.

A large number of individual human representations (801) has been recorded from belt hooks and plates. The majority of the 54 objects fall into two broad groups, which can be differentiated geographically as well as in terms of the decoration technique. As personal objects worn on the body, some belt plates must have had a long use-life and show signs of repeated repair. Decorated belt hooks are rather rare; a find from Carceri, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: 60, Fig. 5.1), is decorated with an incised feasting scene, in which the drinker is lying on a sofa and is served by a woman. Two belt hooks from Este, Italy (Frey 1969: pl. 71), show mythological creatures with a human leg hanging out of their mouths. A handful of Alpine pieces, round and oval belt hooks, for example, from Fließ (Sydow 1995: pls 2, 20) and Giubiasco (Gleirscher 1991: 40, Primas 1974), are decorated with small, geometrical human figures using a variety of techniques such as punches, incisions and stitched incisions.

Belt plates and bronze belts decorated in *situla* style, that is, repoussé and chasing or incised engravings forming figurative scenes, are known from Slovenia and Italy. The most elaborate of them all might be the recent find of a belt from Novo Mesto, Kapiteljska Njiva, Grob III 12 (Križ 1997b: app. 4). At 40 mm in width and 1270 mm in length, there is ample room for narrative scenes. Although the level of preservation of the sheet bronze is not the best, a fishing scene, a hunting scene and a sex scene can be discerned. The other 16 finds are belt plates of rectangular shape, decorated with pretty much the same motifs and scenes that may be found on *situlae*: these include processions (e.g., Stična, Turk 2005: 71, fig. 106a), fighting (e.g., Vače, Turk 2005: fig. 92), hunting (e.g., Zagorje, Lucke and Frey 1962: 80, pl. 54), a sport competition (Magdalenska gora, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004) and hybrid mythological creatures (Magdalenska gora, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: pl. 24, fig. 3).

The approximately 30 West Hallstatt belt plates and sheet bronze belts are distributed in southern Germany, Switzerland, Austria and France (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972). The objects are primarily found in late Hallstatt graves and are decorated with geometric embossed patterns. Some of the stamps used are made in the form of a human figure; most commonly, a person in frontal view with the arms raised; riders on horseback are also an option. The stamps can become very rudimentary, such as when the rider is merely indicated as a dot on the horse's back (e.g., Hallstatt, Grave 404, Kromer 1959b: 101, pl. 66). The size of the individuals ranges between 6 mm and 12 mm, so there is little room for elaboration. Most human images on belts, belt hooks and belt plates do not indicate clearly the gender of the depicted person, but 63 are most likely male and only 6 are female.

Fibulae with human faces and figures are not yet very common in the early Iron Age, though they later become an iconic feature of La Tène art. However, there is a group of 10 *fibulae* from graves of Vinica, Slovenia, which were part of the Mecklenburg collection (Mahr 1934). The footrests of the knobbed *fibulae* are shaped in the form of a bust and head of a human person, sometimes with an aureole around the head. Particularly intriguing is the object from grave 65a (Mahr 1934: 62), which seems to show a snake creeping up the upper body towards the face of the depicted person. The *fibula* fragment from Griže-Šešče, Slovenia

(Teržan 1990: 453, pl. 77, fig. 1), is interesting because the arms of the person end in birds, creating a different form of animal–human hybrid. Other *fibulae* depict a horse and chariot, such as the five from Cles-Campi neri, Sanzeno (Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004: fig. 2, 620, no. 5.26) and Mechel (Marzatico 2001: 528, fig. 47) in Italy, and Vače (Mahr 1934: 140) and Magdalenska gora (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: pl. 10, fig. 2) in Slovenia. Three *fibulae* are shaped in the form of horse and rider: those from Este, Casa di Ricovero and Benvenuti in Italy (Frey 1969: pl. 7, 28, Huth 2003: pl. 87, 4) and Rifnik, Slovenia (Teržan 1990: 105, fig. 24, 4). Two *fibulae* are shaped in the form of sphinxes, winged hybrid beings with human faces and lion bodies (e.g., Belluno, Italy, Frey 1969: 87, fig. 50, Este-Santuario Orientale, Salerno 2002: 155, fig. 59.20). The *fibula* from Burzina glava, Croatia (Balen-Letunić 2008: 147, no. 158), is certainly an unusual piece: a double-spiral *fibula* with a pendant in the shape of a cut-out human figure in profile, with a long, pointed cap, raised hands with fingers, an erect penis and bent knees.

Anthropomorphic pendants are a large and diverse object group. They are listed here under personal objects, as many of them were attached to *fibulae*, arranged on necklaces or worn on a string around the neck. The 74 objects include 140 human representations, largely because often more than one anthropomorphic pendant is arranged on one object: many were found in groups of several pendants hung together on little bronze chains. The desired effect was certainly the sound the objects made when the person wearing it moved; the rattle of the bronze pendants was surely part of the early Iron Age soundscape. Some pendants depict only body parts, particularly hands ($n = 6$, e.g., at Este-Baratella, Italy, Dämmer 2002: 261, fig. 109, or Brezje, Slovenia, Kromer 1959a: pl. 3) and feet or boots (Grossaltendorf, Germany, Frey 2005: pl. 3b). Half-figures that only depict the upper body, head and arms are also common ($n = 7$); in some cases, the arms are formed as wings and probably represent sphinxes (e.g., Carceri et al. 1962: 60, Fig. 5.5). Fifty pendants represent the body form in an abstract way, most often by a ring as a head and a triangle as a body, with optional arms or feet. There is a degree of interpretative freedom as to which pendants count as anthropomorphic, of course, but this play with ambiguity might well have been part of what made this object group desirable. An interesting anthropomorphic pendant of abstract nature is the one from Hellbrunnerberg, Austria (Stöllner 1996–2002: 316, pl. 82, fig. 85), as it depicts a seated person. Naturalistic pendants in human form are very close to bronze figurines, but have a ring at the head or the neck. In this group of 10 pendants, those with unambiguous sexual parts are particularly interesting. The pendant from Esslingen, Germany (Zürn 1987: 66, pl. 79, 34), shows a man and a woman attached together at the back; there also pairs of male and female figurines which express binary ideas about sex and gender (e.g., Stuttgart-Uhlbach, Germany, Huth 2003: pl. 21, 1, Unterlunkhofen, Switzerland, Schmid-Sikimić 1996: pl. 101, 4).

Among the pieces of jewellery which do not fit any other categories are amber beads shaped in the form of human heads from Kopolje, Croatia (Balen-Letunić 2008: 154), the end of a torc or neck ring in the shape of a human head of unknown

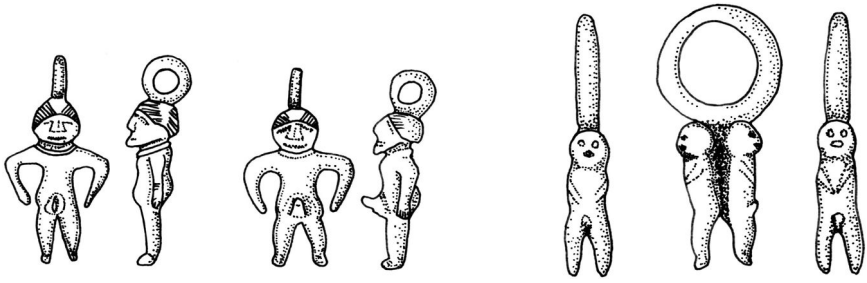


Figure 6.6 Pendants from Unterlunkhofen, Switzerland, and Esslingen, Germany (after Schmid-Sikimić 1996: pl. 101, 4, Zürn 1987: 66, pls 79, 34)

provenance in Hungary, although this might date to the La Tène period (Lessing 1980: fig. 11) and the rather strange object described as ‘pectoral’ with a human head and pendants from Ulaka, Slovenia (Starè 1970), which may also represent a birthing scene. Unique pieces are the hand and face masks from Kleinklein, Austria (Plate 13, Lessing 1980, Schmid 1933), which may be personal objects, although their function is debated: they either represent an effigy of the deceased, similar to a death mask, or might have adorned a wooden chest or box, perhaps even containing the remains of the cremated dead. The closest parallels to the face mask from Kleinklein are bronze masks from Chiusi and Tarquinia, Italy, associated with cremation graves and probably adorning ceramic urns; the golden masks from Trebenište and Ohrid, Macedonia, as well as Sindos, Pella and Archontiko, Greece, in contrast, are death masks placed on the faces of the deceased in inhumation graves (Egg and Kramer 2013: 169–170).

6.2.5 *Vessels*

Feasting and drinking played an important role in early Iron Age social life and, beyond that, in the ritual and funerary realms. The vessels that contained food and drink, the paraphernalia used for serving, eating, drinking and offering to the gods, are tangible traces of these practices and among the most common finds in early Iron Age sites. A small proportion of vessels from settlements and funerary contexts, as well as from sanctuaries, were adorned with human images, many of which themselves show scenes of feasting and drinking. As such, the vessels transport social messages but also show how exactly the various forms of vessels were used and integrated in the drinking and feasting. The scene on the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (Fig. 6.7, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), for example, shows a seated central person being served a drink with a ladle from a *situla*. He consumes the drink from a bowl, whilst another person is walking away with two cauldrons and a lid tucked under his arm. Further *situlae* are hung up on a rack behind the drinker.

A total of 1154 human representations on 204 vessels were recorded for this project: 883 human images on 103 bronze vessels and 271 human images on 103 ceramic vessels. Ceramic vessels were frequently produced in similar forms to



Figure 6.7 Drinking paraphernalia on the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (after Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75)

the bronze vessel types and presumably had comparable functions. In some areas, there is a chronological shift from the inclusion of ceramic vessels to bronze vessels in graves; in other areas where bronze is scarce, ceramic vessels substitute for bronze vessels. The lack of bronze is more than made up for by large numbers of pots deposited in the graves.

The most common type of bronze vessels is the *situla* ($n = 39$), a bucket made of sheet bronze with a handle, which is commonly assumed to have functioned as a container for undiluted wine. Decorated *situlae* measure 276 mm in height on average, ranging from 162 mm to 562 mm. They are common components of high-status early Iron Age graves, although the figuratively decorated pieces are rare. The *situlae* gave name to the genre of 'Situla Art', a term commonly used to refer to figuratively decorated sheet-bronze objects such as *situlae*, but extending to other objects like lids and bronze belts. The most common technique of decoration is repoussé and chasing, although especially older objects may also be decorated in point-boss decoration and with circular stamps. In addition to complete vessels or larger fragments of vessels, a number of pendants and fragments cut out from figuratively decorated vessels have been unearthed from sanctuaries. The 24 pieces are counted as vessels here, because the image was part of the original vessel. Some votive objects that were cut out clearly respect the image, for instance, at Mechel, Italy, where the pendants are usually cut exactly around one or several persons participating in a procession, but in other cases, the recyclers cut through all motifs, drilling holes through a person's head or turning the figures upside down (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 27, 9).

Another common vessel form ($n = 12$) aside from the *situla* is the *cist*, a bucket with slightly wider diameter and straight walls. The *cist* from Kleinklein, Austria, is decorated with point-boss decoration; those from other sites in repoussé and chasing. They are 261 mm high on average. Decorated sheet bronze lids ($n = 11$) occur more frequently with *cists* than with *situlae*. Only three bronze bowls bear human images, and other types of vessels ($n = 6$) are more or less unique shapes

or imports, for example, the *hydria* from Grächwil (Lessing 1980: fig. 113) or the *kratēr* from Vix (Frey 2007: fig. 108). Further, fittings and applications to bronze vessels that are shaped in human form are in this group, such as attachments on beaked flagons from Hradiště, Czech Republic and Sunzing, Austria (Straub 1980: fig. 13, 2 and 4), or the mould in which they have been made (cf. from the Heuneburg, Germany: Hase 2000). The overwhelming majority of complete bronze vessels come from grave contexts, and fragments were also found in sanctuaries. Hoards and settlement finds are extremely rare.

The greatest proportion of ceramic vessels with human images was likewise found in graves; only a handful stem from ritual depositions or settlements. Forms and types of vessels follow local preferences. In the eastern Hallstatt area, the conical-necked vessel is the most common bearer of images, with 49 figuratively decorated examples; on average, they measure 334 mm in height. Farther west, collar-necked vessels ($n = 13$) and stepped bowls ($n = 3$) are more common. Fifteen bowls with anthropomorphic decorations have been found, many of which are pedestal bowls and have variably shaped, anthropomorphic feet. Pots with handles and cups are rarely decorated with human images ($n = 2$ each); the *kernos* from Dolenjske Toplice (Gallus 1938: 26, fig. 8) remains a unique piece. Nine fragments could not be assigned to any particular object type. The group of figuratively decorated ceramic vessels also includes imported pieces from Greece or Italy, which have been found in central European early Iron Age contexts (e.g., at the Heuneburg, Germany, cf. Böhr and Shefton 2000). These images, which were not produced locally, were imported for a reason; they may have been gifts, specially commissioned or selected, and their images have shaped social understandings just as much as locally produced ones. They may even have been models for local production.

The human images on ceramic vessels were produced in a range of different techniques, of which incisions were the most common; circular and other impressions, stamped dots and dents are also common. Similar to the point-boss decoration on sheet bronze, images composed of impressed dots are much lower in resolution (which will be further discussed later). Among the painted pottery, graphite motifs on black or red backgrounds are the most common, followed by black figures on red or brown backgrounds. Common decorative elements like triangles, widespread in the Urnfield culture, become transformed into human images by small, anthropomorphic additions of arms, legs or heads.

It is interesting to note that of the 1154 depicted persons on vessels, the overwhelming majority ($n = 761$) is male and 101 are female, as far as it can be discerned via dress and other attributes. This gender imbalance is, as with the figurines, linked to the material in which the persons are depicted. Bronze vessels show 722 male and 62 female images, ceramic vessels 39 male and 39 female persons. The representations on *situlae* tend to be part of complex narrative scenes and represent a range of different types of persons or, indeed, one person engaged in different activities. Single human images representing nothing but the human form are more often found on pottery.

The contexts and rarity of both bronze and ceramic vessels with human images suggest that they were not everyday objects. They were likely produced for a certain purpose, if not only for the deposition in graves. The size of human images on vessels is relatively small, so they cannot be seen from greater distance. To read the images and understand the scenes, one must be close to the object. Vessels such as cups and bowls were handled by the participants during drinking and feasting. These objects are, however, very rarely decorated with human images. The *situlae*, cists and large storage vessel types which are commonly decorated must have formed the backdrop and furnishing of a feasting place. They were on display, as the image in the *situla* of Kuffern suggests, or even the prize in a contest (cf. the music competition on the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Frey 1969: pl. 87). As grave furnishings, decorated vessels were also placed to be on display. As large vessels, they were frequently arranged along the sides of the funerary chambers or marking corners (see Section 4.4).

6.2.6 Furniture

Only a few other objects do not fit the categories noted earlier, and the ways in which people engaged with them followed different patterns. These are, first, anthropomorphic elements on grave furniture. Best known is the *klinē*, or couch, of Hochdorf, Germany (Plate 16, Biel 1985a: pl. 26), which not only includes an embossed scene of wagons and sword fighters, but also eight individually produced figurines to bridge the space between the seat level and the floor level. Despite their similarities, minute differences show that they could not have come from the same moulds. Most likely, the two halves of the figurines were made separately by first carving them into wood; the wooden halves would then be filled with wax and joined after embedding a clay core. Subsequently, the wax figurines were finely reworked before they were embedded in clay moulds. The final finish of the Hochdorf figurines includes filing and polishing as well as drilling small holes for the coral inlay that marks the eyes, necklace, belt, arm and leg rings and joins the bronze pearls representing the breasts (Binggeli and Sander 2012). Ivory fittings in the form of sphinxes have been discovered in the robbed central chamber of the monumental burial mound at Grafenbühl, Germany (Zürn 1970: pl. 66). They are composite items with the human face carved from amber, whilst the rest of the lion body is carved in bone and ivory. These sphinxes must have been fitted on a piece of furniture. Although it has been assumed that this piece of furniture was probably a Greek *klinē*, it has recently been argued that it was more likely a throne (Fischer 1990, Jung 2007). This would, of course, connect the Grafenbühl to Italian rather than Greek elite influences. The elite burial mound of Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Germany (Zürn 1987), was furnished by a wagon with sheet bronze decoration, which was stamped in a similar fashion to contemporary belt plates. The rows of animal stamps alternate with stamps of human figures with their hands raised. These finds illustrate that in graves of the elite, the human image was part of characterising the deceased; of telling stories that contribute to

the documentation of their life, ancestry and heroisation; and connect to the world of myths and beliefs.

6.2.7 *Tools*

Only a handful of tools are adorned with human images. First, a ceramic stamp was found in Este, Italy (Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 5), which shows an animal beast with a human leg hanging out of its mouth. The motif is familiar from *situlae*, such as the one from Este-Boldù-Dolfin, Graves 52 and 53 (Frey 1969: 25, pl. 20), which suggests that this object might have been employed in the making of the repoussé and chasing decoration. It could, however, also have been used to mould ceramics. The ceramic fragment showing an athlete with dumb-bells exhibited in the same museum in Este (Hoernes 1893: 109, fig. 49) demonstrates that styles and images of *situla* decoration were sometimes transferred to other materials such as ceramics. Unfortunately, the context and use of both of these unusual objects remains in the dark. A small, pyramidal loom weight from the settlement of Smolenice-Molpír, Slovakia (Reichenberger 2000: pl. 38, fig. 161), has the image of a stylized orant in the centre amongst other geometric decorations. At 65 mm high, it is the same size as another loom weight-shaped object, which is decorated so that it might represent a person. It was found in the context of the cult location of Turska kosa, Croatia (Balén-Letunić 2004: 326, no. 4).

The chronological distribution of object types (Fig. 6.8) follows an interesting trajectory. Whereas vessels are common in both the early and later phases of the early Iron Age, figurines tend to date to the older phase; they are in part replaced by plaques in the later phase. Sculptures most commonly date to the later phase. The importance of personal objects increased during the Iron Age, which is reflected in the fact that a higher proportion of personal objects decorated with human images were found from the later phase.

In terms of the geographical distribution over the study area, vessels cluster in areas such as Bavaria north of the Danube and eastern Austria/western Hungary; in these areas, they are primarily made of ceramics. Figurines are spread over the

	<i>total</i>	<i>early</i> <i>(from 800 BC)</i>		<i>late</i> <i>(from 625 BC)</i>		<i>very late</i> <i>(from 450 BC)</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
sculpture	28	9	32%	18	64%	1	4%
figurine	665	383	58%	276	42%	6	1%
plaque	126	0	0%	94	75%	32	25%
personal object	175	58	33%	109	62%	8	5%
vessel	204	98	48%	94	46%	12	6%
total	1205	552	46%	594	49%	59	5%

Figure 6.8 Chronological distribution of object types

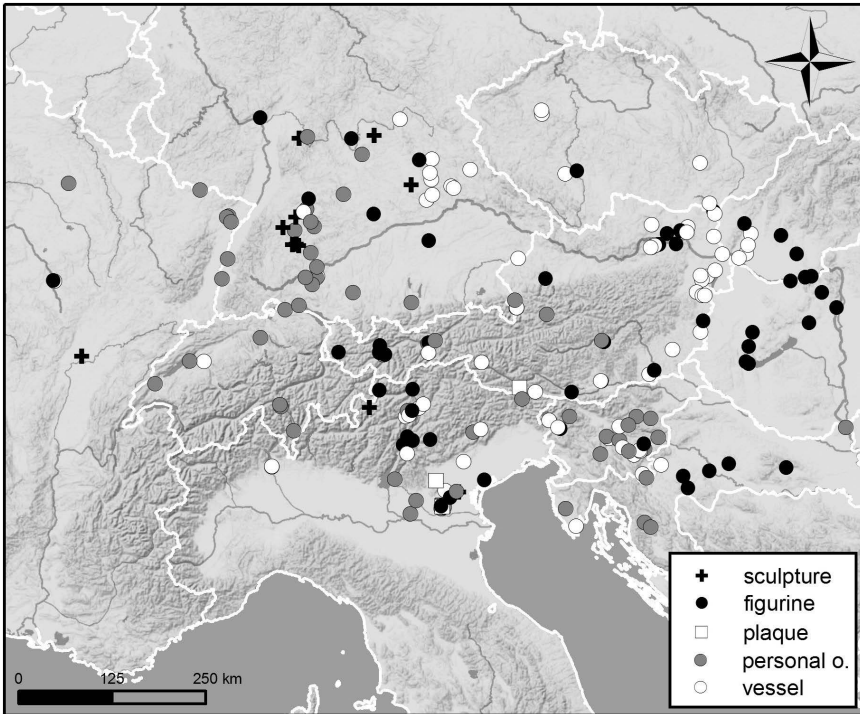


Figure 6.9 Distribution of object types with human images

whole of the study area; plaques are more or less restricted to Alpine and Venetian sanctuaries. Sculptures are found in southwestern Germany and occasionally in France, Italy and Croatia. Personal objects cluster in southwestern Germany and Slovenia. They are common in the west, south and southeast of the study area, where inhumation is common, but are very rare in the north and northeast, where cremation prevails.

6.3 Materials and technologies

The materials used for human representations have a direct impact on the outcome, as each material can be worked in different ways, with different technologies and tools; material properties such as malleability, crystalline structure, ability to absorb water and many more afford particular ways of treatment and result in specific shapes and forms. The notion of affordances is useful here (Gibson 1977, Gibson 1979), which describes the relationship between subject and object and is a relational concept (Chemero 2003). After Gibson's theory of direct perception, the environment in which the perceiver is embedded encodes meanings that are perceived directly and not by translation of raw data in the brain. In

the direct model of perception the environment is loaded with meaning, and by sensuous engagement with this environment, the perceiver can extract meanings through interaction. Affordances of materials and objects are thus not independent properties or resources; they are not constant, but change according to the situation in which they are found and the agents that engage with them. Affordances allow the performance of an action, but the persons performing the action have to perceive the possibilities within the landscapes, objects and materials. Affordances may result from physical, logical or cultural reasons. Social conventions, rules and traditions are among the things that can restrict access to and availability of resources (Norman 1988: 85–86), in the same way as more ‘objective’ criteria, for instance, the distribution of ores in the vicinity of a metal production site. Affordances are specific to the agent engaging with the object or material: a classic example is the door handle that affords opening the door to adults, but not to children who cannot reach it (Knappett 2004).

Affordances of different materials are crucial to the production of human images: clay, for instance, lends itself to different treatment than that of wax or wood. Some of the stylistic features of human representations derive directly from the materials and the technologies employed to work them. Each craft therefore develops its own ‘language of design’ (Blakolmer 1999), but there are few, if any, absolute constraints. Certain shapes, forms and details naturally and easily fall into place when working with one particular material, whereas the same features might be difficult to achieve in a different material. Cutting the outline of a human figure out of sheet bronze, for example, is quite easily doable; cutting it out of the wall of a ceramic vessel in similar detail is virtually impossible. The morphology of objects is intertwined with the underlying production processes. In the following, I will review all major material groups and consider the impact of material properties and affordances on the human images produced.

6.3.1 *Stone*

Stone carved in the early Iron Age is primarily sandstone, a sedimentary rock composed of sand-sized grains of minerals, for instance, quartz and feldspar. Its colour ranges from light tan to dark grey, and because it is relatively soft, it can be easily carved. Sandstone comes in varying qualities, and inclusions in the stone matrix mean that there may be some obvious breaking points. Sandstone is also prone to weathering when exposed to the elements. Although stone is used to produce other small objects like grindstones, there are no small-scale stone figurines that date to the early Iron Age. Human representations in stone are life-sized.

The main constraint in working with stone is the size and format of the stone block, which is the starting point for all carved objects. Statues like that from Hirschlanden (Zürn 1970: 167, Table A) or its later version from the Glauberg (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002) have raised ample discussions as to the peculiar proportions, in particular concerning the way the arms and hands are depicted. Ideas that the warrior of Hirschlanden is a reworked Greek *kouros* have been put forward, but dismissed on the grounds that the sandstone is local (Beeser 1983). Laurent

Olivier (2013) recently presented the idea that Iron Age stone monuments look peculiar because they are not true three-dimensional renderings: instead of imagining a person in 3D perspective, they are composed of two-dimensional visual planes that have been folded to a three-dimensional form. This explains why the arms, for instance, look awkward: they are projected both on the side and the front plane. The combination of using a 'peculiar way of drawing space' (Olivier 2013) with the natural constraints of the material (Mielke 2013) might easily account for the ways the arms are held in early Iron Age statues, although the transmission of meaning through the gestures (Armit and Grant 2008) may also play a part.

6.3.2 Clay and ceramics

Clay is an extremely versatile material. It is plastic and malleable, and its properties can be altered by adding water or particles such as graphite, grog or straw dust. Clay becomes solid through drying, and it is turned into ceramics through firing. The plasticity of the clay means that it can easily be shaped and moulded with fingers and simple tools. In principle, every child can play with clay and form simple objects, although, of course, there are degrees of craftsmanship in use that can be read from the finished product (cf. Sofaer and Budden 2012). It is the most democratic material, as it is easily obtainable and probably did not have much value. It could be worked anywhere and everywhere and finished and fired in a household context, with pyrotechnology available at most homes where people cook. Whereas pottery for everyday use was probably produced in household contexts, ceramics found in funerary contexts show marked differences in quality and in terms of object biography. Some had already been used for domestic tasks, whereas other pieces were especially produced for the grave or altered specifically for use as funerary vessels.

Clay was used as building material and to make vessels used for serving, eating and drinking and preparing and storing food, as well as other objects such as spindle whorls, loom weights and zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines. Making large vessels that have uniform wall thicknesses and do not break when drying and firing is difficult. They clearly had a certain value as a finished product, as they were frequently repaired when they cracked: at Statzendorf, Austria (Rebay 2006: 50), vessels were repaired by drilling two holes on either side of the crack and tying the wall together with string; other methods of fixing broken vessels include using lead and iron clasps.

Clay can easily be decorated using just hands, fingernails and simple tools such as sticks, pieces of straw or jewellery at hand. Pieces of clay can be added and connected to the main body, but clay can also be incised or impressed. Adding a human image on a drying clay vessel before firing is a task that is very easily done; in fact, it is so easy that one has to wonder why the highly decorated early Iron Age vessels do not show figurative decorations more often than they do. The level of detail in the image depends largely on the technique of decoration. Details can be expressed clearly with incisions, and the resolution drops markedly when using point incisions or impressions.

When using clay to make figurines (Rebay-Salisbury 2014), the affordances of the material favour certain body shapes, such as a round, large and plump body core, whereas elongated and thin parts of the body such as the neck, arms and legs are more difficult to shape as they are prone to breaking; they are therefore often shorter than they would be in the natural body. The properties of the clay also affect the way faces appear. Eyes and noses are normally made by impressing and squeezing a tiny bit of clay out of the main body that constitutes the face; for that reason, faces often appear slightly bird-like.

6.3.3 Bronze

Bronze technology was well established by the early Iron Age (cf. Kienlin 2013); access to bronze as a material and to the knowledge required to work it, however, was most likely not ubiquitous. It remained the primary material for art and ornaments, although iron began to be exploited and worked in the central European early Iron Age around 800 BC. Iron is not as easy to work into fine, detailed objects such as jewellery and human figurines, and was first primarily used for weapons, tools and horse gear. It is further prone to corrosion, so even if it was worked to an ornament, it may not have been preserved. Bronze is an alloy of copper and about 10 per cent tin (with the percentage of tin varying considerably in prehistory) and other metal inclusions or additives such as iron or nickel. Copper was mined at a considerable scale in central Europe at sites such as Mitterberg and Eisenerz in Austria (O'Brien 2013: Fig. 24.1), but tin had to be traded in. The Bronze Age trade networks spanning the European continent still seemed to be in place at the beginning of the early Iron Age. The role of recycling, however, cannot be underestimated. Even if no obvious traces of reworking can be detected, scrap metal most likely formed the basis of the majority of early Iron Age bronze working. Casting bronze requires reaching a temperature of about 950° C and a few simple tools such as crucibles, tongs and moulds; it is unsurprising that such simple metal workshops are much more difficult to trace archaeologically than smelting sites.

Human images in bronze were made using four basic techniques. First, lost-wax casting was employed for figurines, pendants, attachments and the like. Second, casting in open moulds was an option. Third, sheet bronze objects were decorated with punched images or in repoussé and chasing, and fourth, figures were cut out of sheet bronze. It is the combination of the affordances of the materials and techniques used to work them that influences the shape the human image can take. Lost-wax casting requires making a model of the desired product in wax, which shares many properties with clay: it is extremely malleable, but more viscous and less prone to breaking. The fact that wax models have to be stabilised in clay moulds makes long and slim shapes possible and has the added benefit of not having to use very much metal, which may be quite precious and costly. Figurines and pendants thus have slimmer and thinner body shapes (Rebay-Salisbury 2014). Lost-wax casting produces exactly one copy of a bronze item, whereas open moulds or composite moulds can be re-used. Open mould casting results in relief figures, with a flat reverse, which is not normally worked further. The human

image therefore appears two- rather than truly three-dimensional and has a chosen perspective, that is, shows the person from the front, right, left or a combination of these. All cast bronze objects are usually refined after casting, when they can be filed and polished to smooth any casting marks, or punched and incised to add further details. Fine features of faces and clothing are frequently indicated in this way.

Sheet bronze production and decoration almost certainly required the knowledge and skill of an experienced craftsperson. Bronze was hammered from ingots to produce sheets of about 0.2 to 1 mm thickness, which was then cut into the required shapes and assembled into objects like *situlae* and cists by folding and riveting the sheets together. Some decorations may have been added before the final assembling, but others could be added later. The primary techniques to decorate sheet bronze, and indeed to make human images on sheet bronze, are incisions, stamps and punches, and repoussé and chasing. Most often, a combination of these techniques is used. Incisions produce the images with the most detail, but the incisions can be so fine that they are hard to see, particularly from farther away. Images composed of punched points are also an option. The resolution of the human images is low, and they can be difficult to read, particularly when they merge into patterns such as on the cists found in the Kröll-Schmiedkogel at Kleinklein, Austria (e.g., Ziste XIII, Schmid 1933: pl. 1c). Anthropomorphic punches producing repetitive images of very small size are primarily used in southwestern Germany and beyond to decorate sheet bronze belts. The repoussé and chasing technique, in which the bronze sheet is ornamented from the reverse side to create a design in low relief, is widespread in Slovenia and northern Italy. Whereas repoussé creates the raised design on the front by hammering from the back, chasing refines the design on the front by sinking the metal. The plasticity of the sheet metal means that there is no loss of material – the bronze is stretched and the surface remains continuous. The produced relief effect is usually not particularly strong in Situla Art, but the technique can highlight particular facial and body features. At Magdalenska gora, Slovenia, for example, working cheeks in repoussé creates a chubby-faced appearance of the depicted persons (e.g., Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 41, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 3).

Sheet bronze objects and their fragments can be recycled by cutting out shapes and figures. Many of the plaques dedicated in sanctuaries were in fact produced this way. Scrap metal certainly had a lower value than ‘fresh’ sheet bronze and was relatively easy to cut. Details could be added by punching and incising. A two-dimensional outline of a person is often the result, with a few thin and long breaking points: necks and details of arms and legs are therefore frequently omitted. Recycling sheet bronze in this way can probably be done by everyone.

6.3.4 Lead

Casting lead is a technology rarely applied except for the site of Frög, Austria (Plate 15, Tomedi 2002), where thousands of small figures, primarily riders, were produced. Both lost-wax casting and open mould casting are possible; casting in perishable and temporary moulds made of sand, wood or charcoal is a further

possibility. Although there is some evidence of subsequent treatment such as forging, cutting and bending, most figures were put in the graves as raw casts, regardless of casting mistakes or fuzzy edges. Almost certainly the figurines were made for funerary use.

Lead as a material is relatively easy to work, as it can be melted at very low heat (327° C); the light of a candle is in fact sufficient. The material remains soft after casting and can be bent easily. Legs and arms are rarely preserved at full length, but most of the time, they appear elongated. Whereas legs appear straight and parallel, the arms are bent into various gestures: some hang parallel to the body, some are crossed in front of the chest, some carry various objects or are raised. This indeed seems to be one of the crucial advantages of using lead as a material: the same basic forms can be cast over and over and varied, as well as being adjusted by bending the soft metal carefully into the desired shapes.

Lead is widely obtainable in central Europe, easy to smelt and work and did not seem to have been of particular value, as it was, for instance, used to repair ceramic vessels. It is likely, however, that lead formed the economic basis of the early Iron Age community of Frög, and the use of this material was a symbolic component in the local funerary rites.

6.3.5 Further materials

Carving human images of antler, bone, ivory, amber and wood is, in part, similar to carving stone. It produces a negative image from a fixed-size predecessor, which, especially in the case of antler and amber, restricts the size of the object considerably. In addition to this, antler and wood in particular are fibrous structures, which are easier to work with the line of the material than against. Carving requires no pyro-technology, but a sharp blade and a certain level of skill; crucially, it is a time-consuming technique.

Glass, a non-crystalline, amorphous material, is hard and brittle in solid state and malleable and rubber-like when hot and molten. Its primary ingredient is silicon dioxide; faience is a mixture of silica crystals and glassy material (Henderson 2013). Although the earliest occurrences of glass in Europe date to the early and middle Bronze Age, it remains a precious material associated with high-status contexts. Glass, like bronze, does not have to be produced from scratch in every single instance, but can be traded over distance, re-melted and reworked without the need of a specialised craft workshop. Knowledge, skill, a heat source and few tools suffice. Human images in glass were rarely produced in the early Iron Age, although the impressive amount and quality of glass working at sites like Kapiteljka Njiva, Novo Mesto, Slovenia, testify to the high standards of glass craft working. Even beads of ram heads (Križ 1997a: 38), complete with horns, eyes and nostrils, were produced. Glass beads with human faces are known from later contexts, for instance, from Prozor, Croatia (Balen-Letunić 2008: 155, fig. 16), dating to the third and second centuries BC. The small, about 3-cm-high faience figurines found in Grave 234, Este-Casa di Ricovero, Italy, date between 650 and 600 BC (Frey 1969: pl. 36) and were part of a high-status female grave.

The choice of materials and technologies used for making human images varied through time and across geographical areas, most likely due to material availability and access to technological knowledge, but also in response to fashions and trends. In terms of chronology, ceramic objects occur in similar proportions in the early and later parts of the early Iron Age. The significance of bronze, in contrast, rose at least fourfold in the later phase. Lead is almost only used in earlier contexts, but only occurs at two sites. Stone monuments are more frequent from 625 BC, but have predecessors that may date from earlier.

	<i>early</i> (from 800 BC)	<i>late</i> (from 625 BC)	<i>very late</i> (from 450 BC)
bronze	101	447	56
ceramic	117	102	12
lead	320	16	
stone	8	18	1
all materials	552	594	59

Figure 6.10 Chronological distribution of materials

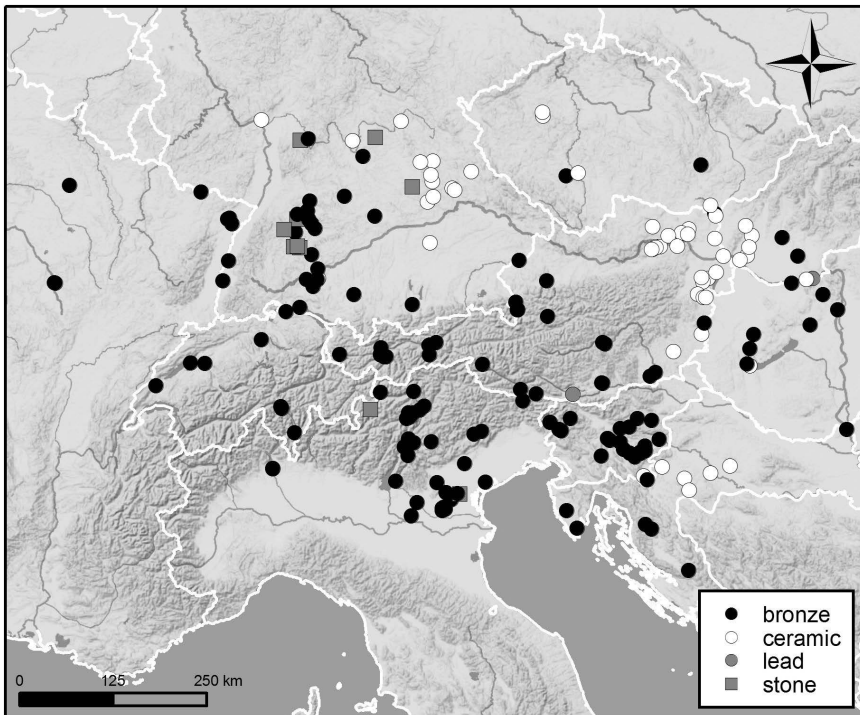


Figure 6.11 Primary material of objects with human images mapped per site

	<i>sex</i>				<i>gender</i>			
	<i>female</i>		<i>male</i>		<i>female</i>		<i>male</i>	
bronze	46	18%	205	82%	266	20%	1053	80%
ceramic	25	58%	18	42%	72	58%	53	42%
lead	16	22%	57	78%	39	30%	89	70%
stone	1	17%	5	83%	3	21%	11	79%

Figure 6.12 Material, sex and gender

The geographical distribution of the materials places single bronze finds all over the study area. Clusters are found in southwestern Germany, northeastern Italy and Slovenia. Ceramics cluster in three areas: Bavaria north of the Danube; the north-eastern Alpine fringe of eastern Lower Austria; and western Hungary, Slovakia and inland Croatia. Lead is restricted to the site of Frög in Austrian Carinthia and single stray find from Nyergesújfalu in Hungary. Stone sculptures are concentrated in southwestern Germany, but also found in a few contexts in France, Italy and Croatia.

Further, it is interesting to see that the selection of material varies according to sex and gender of the depicted person (Fig. 6.12). The following table counts male and female images with clearly shown sexual parts (*sex*) and taking hairstyle, clothing and gendered attributes into account (*gender*). There are clear material associations with sex and gender: Human representations in bronze are four times more likely to be male than female; similar values are true for lead and stone. Ceramics is the only material with female connotations: images of women outnumber images of men in this material, albeit only slightly. These material associations provide a starting point to think about the social setting of image production, use and consumption, for which the *chaîne opératoire* provides a helpful tool.

6.4 The *chaîne opératoire*: contexts of production, use and deposition

The *chaîne opératoire* is a useful tool to think through all stages of production, from the acquisition of raw material to the deposition of the objects, and link them to human actions. The concept is derived from French anthropology (Leroi-Gourhan 1964, Leroi-Gourhan 1965) and is translated as production sequence or chain of production, although this does not fully encapsulate its meaning. The *chaîne opératoire* does not only consider all technological elements of the production, distribution and consumption of specific goods, but particularly considers the social elements and includes the socio-cultural biography of objects. First, all actions are described that convert natural resources into culturally significant objects. After Pierre Lemonnier (Lemonnier 1992, 1993) it is the interplay of five heuristic elements that need to be analysed separately, namely material, energy, objects, gestures in their sequence and knowledge.

Thinking through the chain of actions that led to a finished product also entails aiming to understand people’s decision-making processes and thus to see them as

decisive actors (Dobres and Hoffman 1999, Dobres and Robb 2000). Decision-making processes can be described using ‘mental maps’ (Dobres 1999: 124, Schlangier 1994), which include the structures and symbolic dimensions of prehistoric technologies. It is not always the most efficient way to produce an object that is chosen, but the chosen path always represents one of many possible options. Choices are influenced by cultural factors such as opinions and beliefs, traditions or political intentions. This is why in some cases, ceramic decorations or depositional practices may be linked to identity groups or cultures – an interpretative framework that culture–historical archaeology relies on (cf. Brosseder 2006, Sommer 2003: for a comprehensive discussion). The *chaîne opératoire* approach thus differs significantly from typological or technological approaches in which either the end product or the manufacturing method is in the foreground; considering the whole biography of an object, including cultural decision-making factors, may help to recognise and appreciate similarities and differences between groups more clearly.

Apart from an analytical tool, the *chaîne opératoire* is simultaneously a methodological approach that establishes connections between the traces of technological actions and the social and political relations of production. Each technological step is seen as a social activity, to which people and their bodies are central. Particularly conventional and routine activities are always executed in a certain way, and gestures and postures associated with these actions are passed on over generations. The actions do not need to be carried out in a conscious way; it is thus not only discursive, but embodied, knowledge (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury 2012) that is relevant to describe. Men, women, children and old people are involved in different aspects of these processes; the *chaîne opératoire* can help to infer aspects of social organisation that are not immediately obvious from the archaeological remains. Marcia-Anne Dobres (Dobres 1999) sees technology as a network of skill, knowledge, values, functional goals, views and tradition, power relations and material constraints. Technologies are executed in a social milieu that includes labour divisions; extending the concept of technology to incorporate social aspects enables us to understand that actions are inextricably linked to value systems and the organisation of social life. The transformation from raw material to culturally significant object has many parallels in social life, similar to the way identity transformations in the course of the lifecycle are marked by rites of passage (van Gennep 1960 [1909]). In both cases, technologies are employed to enable and assist transformation, and often there are overlaps in the kinds of technologies employed (for example, burning, painting, scratching, etc.). These meaningful parallels are to be explored.

In terms of interpreting human images of the early Iron Age, the *chaîne opératoire* is particularly useful to investigate the intersection between the object and the image (Fig. 6.13). The human image may be understood as an ideological raw material selected from the pool of all possible image contents which, through the technology employed, is joined to the object as the image carrier. This intersection takes place at various stages of production, which reveal the social setting and context of the image, and thus help to interpret its meaning. In the case of figurines and monuments, which are made exclusively as human images, the intersection is located at the beginning of the production process. Other objects are decorated with human images at some point during their production, or even after their use-life.

The figural decorations of the vessels from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary, provide particularly interesting examples for thinking through the interface of image and object using the *chaîne opératoire* approach (Fig. 6.14). Clearly, ceramic vessels have to be shaped before they can be decorated, but some vessels with human images were already decorated before the human figures were added. It therefore becomes clear that the human image was not part of the original ornamental concept. For example, the fragment of a conical-necked vessel from Tumulus 80 (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 101/3) shows a rider incised on to a surface already decorated with channelling. On a conical-necked vessel from Tumulus 28 (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 31), the head of the person on the shoulder/neck break overlaps the triangles that had already been incised. Even the famous weaving scene on a conical-necked vessel from Tumulus 27 (Plate 5, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 16, 17) shows interesting details: the stamped decoration in the region of the spinning person had been erased so that there was room to add the human image. Although the decoration is carried out very professionally and with the same technique, this demonstrates that the human image was added later than the original decoration but before the firing took place.

The observation that the human images were not part of the original vessel concept raises questions about the social context of production. That the original decoration

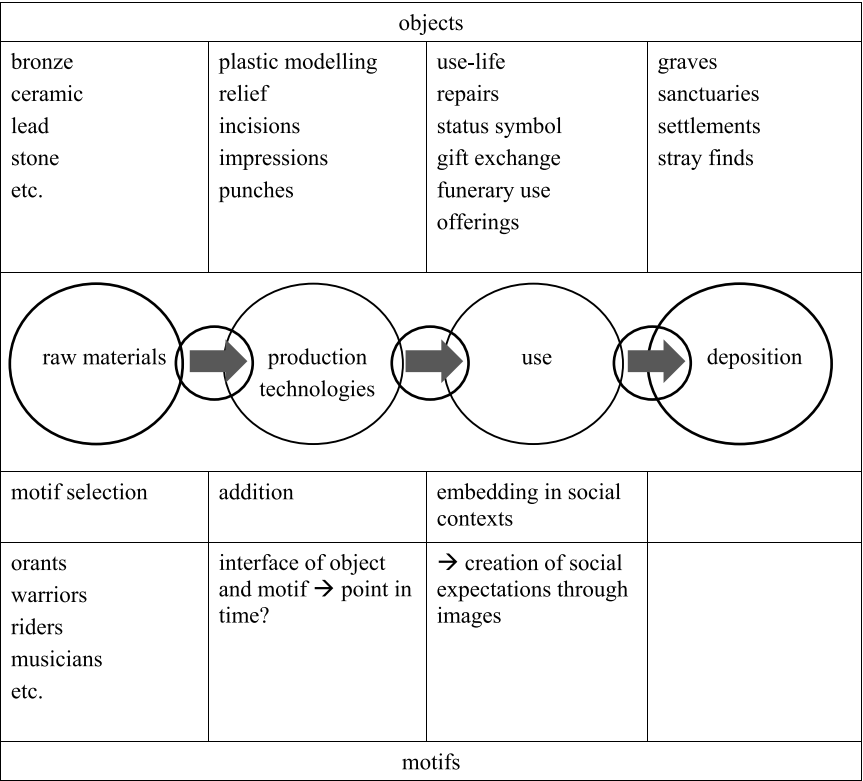


Figure 6.13 The *chaîne opératoire* and the interface between object and image

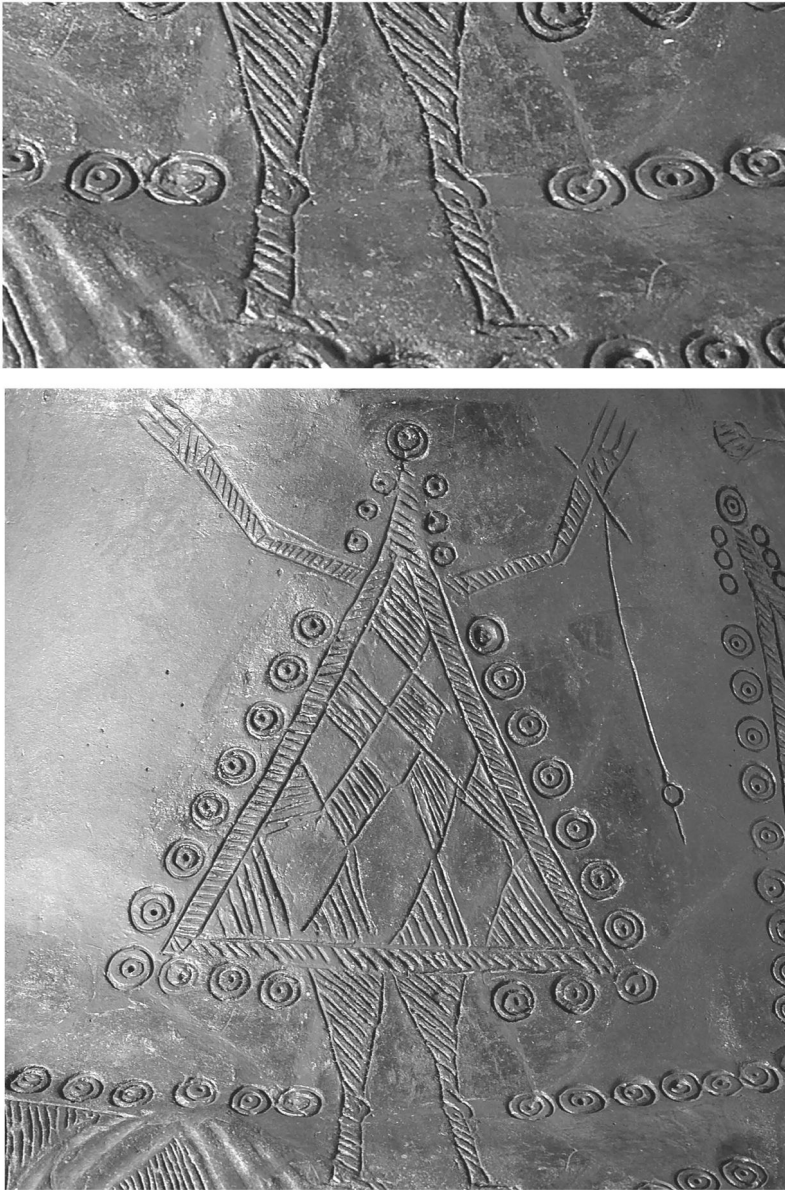


Figure 6.14 Human image over existing decorations at Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (© Naturhistorisches Museum Wien)

concept was altered might imply that the purpose of the vessel was changed during production. Conceived as a domestic vessel, it might have been transformed into a grave gift. Did death occur during the production process? Second, it might indicate that different people were involved in making the decorations; the normal, domestic

decorations and the ritual, funerary decorations may be the domain of different people. Can we trace different kinds of ‘handwriting’ in the vessel decorations?

Tracing object biographies means examining the circumstances of use and deposition, as made evident by the contexts of the objects. Although, as we have seen, some objects like the lead figurines of Frög or the vessels from Sopron seem to be made to be deposited in graves, others show traces of a long use-life and were in circulation for generations. Human images may remain meaningful even when they were no longer useful as objects. This may be suggested by including the fragment of a figurative *situla*, produced several hundred years before its deposition around 250–230 BC, in Grave 346 B, Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Moser 2010: 110–112). Some sheet bronze fragments, on the other hand, were recycled into pendants and miniature objects for ritual deposition in sanctuaries with little or no regard for the image. At Pillerhöhe, Austria (Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 1998: fig. 19), for example, a scene with horses and wagons had been cut and worked into a miniature shield; at Mechel, Italy, several of the deposited pendants were cut out of figuratively decorated sheet bronze. Whereas for some the outlines of the persons were respected, others were upside-down or had holes drilled through bodies and heads (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 27). In addition, new human representations emerge from the process of recycling old objects such as disposed sheet bronze belts (e.g., an orant figure at Ampass-Demlfeld, Austria, Tomedi 2009: 273, fig. 2b).

Last, the meaning of the image may be altered by composing images in a different way. The belt plate from Brezje, Slovenia (Fig. 6.15, Plate 12, Lucke and Frey 1962: 32/17, Turk 2005: 42), is a particularly good example of this. It is a piece that shows a number of breaks, was worn, torn and had been repaired. The original scene is difficult to reconstruct, but it shows at least the mirror image of two couples engaged in sexual activities, with the men kneeling in front of the women seated on thrones. The left woman’s leg rests on one man’s shoulder, and he looks back over his shoulder away from the woman. Little is left of the couple on the right, only the woman’s stretched-out foot and the tip of the man’s garment. Another man on the throne, looking back, is seated on the throne further

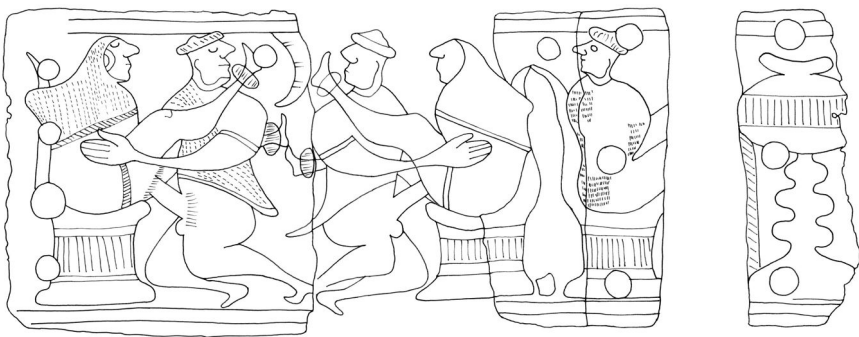


Figure 6.15 The belt plate from Brezje, Slovenia (Plate 12, drawing after photo, Huth 2003: pl. 62, and drawing by Vesna Svetličič in Turk 2005: 31, fig. 41)

on in the scene. The image is likely to depict the passing of power and rulership over the generations. During the repair, however, a large metal vessel was inserted between the couples, similar to the one used as a prize in the music competition on the *situla* in Providence (Lucke and Frey 1962). Through this composition, the image of a competition is revoked and the solemn scene turned into a joke.

6.5 Translating images: cross-craft interaction

Cross-craft interaction is a useful framework to investigate how different crafts interacted and mutually influenced each other (Brysbaert 2007, Brysbaert 2008, McGovern, Notis and Kingery 1989). Conceptually, it has many overlaps with the *chaîne opératoire* because they both examine the production, distribution, use and deposition of artefacts. Again, not only technological details, but also the social setting of the craft activities is under scrutiny; the technological and social interactions that arise from doing different crafts are of interest here. As outlined earlier, each craft, be it pottery, bronze, wood or stone working, has certain typical stylistic traits that can usually be derived from the affordances and properties of the worked materials. Through cross-craft interaction, ideas, styles, techniques, skills and materials are exchanged between crafts and workshops; tools, trade networks and distribution strategies may be shared. The transfer of ideas and knowledge is a key factor for innovation. Analysing the mutual influences different crafts have upon each other allows better insights into the work organisation and division of labour; social differentiation; and exchange of materials, ideas and knowledge over great distances. The adaptation of styles and techniques in other environments and circumstances may be done to various degrees and not always turn out to be successful. Building a Mediterranean mud-brick wall to fortify the early Iron Age central site of Heuneburg, Germany, famously only proved to be sustainable for a short time (Burkhardt 2011, Kimmig 2000).

Among the many manifestations of cross-craft interaction in the archaeological record (Brysbaert 2007: 335–337) is skeuomorphism, the transfer of characteristics of one particular medium to another, for example, when features typical of metal production are formed in clay. Characteristics of metal vessels, such as sharp edges, rivets and thin, elongated handles, for example, soon become a feature of early Iron Age pottery. Further, vessels are frequently coated with graphite dust to create a silver, metal-like appearance (Pescheck 1948). The term skeuomorphism is also used when design characteristics of an older type are maintained in a new product, even if they are no longer technically necessary. This effect, which can also be used to establish typological sequences and relative dating, is also known as ‘typological rudiment’ (Eggert 2001: 187, Montelius 1903: 17). Crucially, familiar and well-known features create familiarity and trust when a new type of object is introduced.

Composite objects, objects for which more than one raw material is used, foster the collaboration of craftspeople and the sharing of knowledge, time and techniques. Only through knowing about the properties of different materials and how they are worked can the optimal end product be achieved. Bronze smiths, for

instance, must be familiar with pottery technology to a certain extent when they use ceramic moulds; ceramic shrinks when dried and fired; metal expands when heat is applied. These differences in material properties need to be taken in consideration. Finally, shared technological facilities and tools promote knowledge transfer; the spatial proximity between different locations of craft working is thus a factor to consider. For instance, pyrotechnology, the controlled use of fire, is necessary for many technologies from baking bread to firing ceramics and melting metals. Moreover, it is used for social transformation techniques such as cremation of dead bodies, transferring meanings and metaphors from the technological to the social domain.

Cross-craft interaction is a useful concept for comparing the decoration techniques of human representations in different media. There are similarities and overlaps in those used to create a human image in ceramics and bronze. The dumb-bell fighters on a ceramic fragment in the Museo Nazionale Atestino at Este, Italy (Hoernes 1893: 108, fig. 49), and the *situla* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Kastelic 1964: pl. 49), are incredibly alike, although the function and purpose of the ceramic from which the sherd, a stray find, derives are not known. Low-relief figurative ceramics mimicking repoussé and chasing are extremely rare. One other object from a recent rescue excavation at Este (Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 5) also shows a familiar *situla* motif – an animal with a human foot in the mouth. It is interpreted as a stamp. Perhaps these stamps were employed in *situla* making in some way, as Este was certainly a centre of their production, but it is conceivable that textiles or wall plasters were decorated using these objects.

In both bronze and ceramics, continuous lines may be used to outline the human body and indicate details. They are engraved in bronze or incised in clay. In both materials, outlines are also drawn by broken lines of consecutive points, punched in bronze, incised or indented in clay (Fig. 6.17). These translate an image into a ‘low resolution’ version, which is particularly interesting as it forces a focus on crucial elements of the motif – those that are important to understand the image.



Figure 6.16 Dumb-bell fighters on a ceramic fragment from Este, Italy, and the belt plate from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (photos: K. Rebay-Salisbury and © Naturhistorisches Museum Wien)

A body can thus be reduced to a point and several strokes for the upper body and limbs and still be understood as a body; whereas in other examples, the focus lies on the dress, perhaps because dress is important for the social categorisation of people.

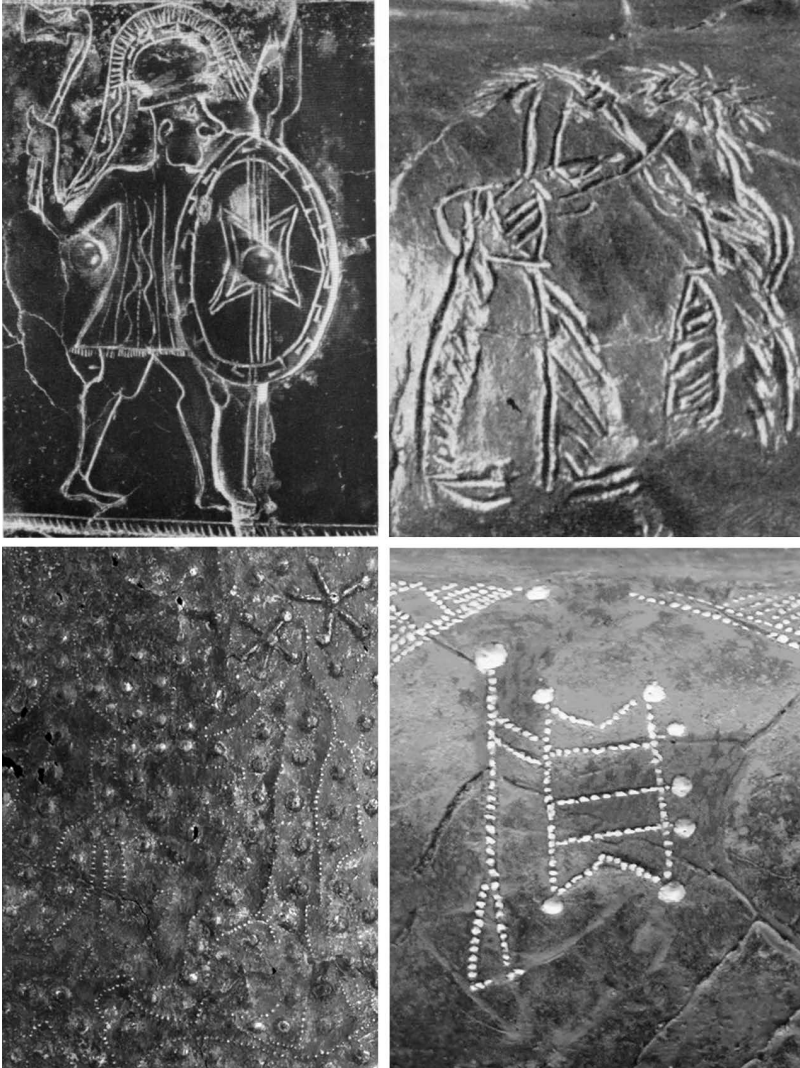


Figure 6.17 Techniques of decoration on bronze and pottery: engraved/incised images on the belt plate from Vače, Slovenia, and the vessel from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (© Naturhistorisches Museum Wien), punched images at the cist from Kleinklein, Austria (© Universalmuseum Joanneum Graz) and the vessel from Schirndorf, Germany (photo: K. Rebay-Salisbury © Archäologische Staatssammlung München)

We have already seen the comparison of the image of a chariot driver in two different materials: bronze and ceramics (see Figure 2.3). The image taken from the *situla* of Kuffern, Austria, comes from a bronze vessel found in an early La Tène grave (Nebehay 1993) and is probably one of the latest examples of Situla Art in the Hallstatt tradition. It only has one figurative frieze, into which a drinking scene, a boxing scene and a chariot race are fitted. The first chariot driver keeps the reins in one hand while spurring on the horses with a stick and looking back at his pursuers. A number of details are visible in this version of the image, carefully manufactured in repoussé and chasing technique: the features on the face of the driver, the details of the chariot, the harnessing and the horses. Of much simpler making is the image on a stray pottery find from Rabensburg, Austria (Felgenhauer 1962), once part of a large conical-necked vessel. The decoration technique is neither sketching nor stamping; rather, the lines are made of single, soft impressions. This is an unusual technique with which to apply an image in this area and sets the resolution to a minimum. The artist very cleverly applied a visual trick by using the natural perspective for horses and chariot – in this way, it could be made apparent that there are two horses under the yoke and that it is, in fact, a two-wheeled chariot and not a four-wheeled wagon, which constitutes a significant difference in the early Iron Age (Rebay-Salisbury in press-b). The driver is standing on the chariot with the reins in the left hand and reins or a switch in the other. Although the human image is barely a stick figure, it is interesting that two details were selected for depiction; apparently these two features were the key to communicating the social identity of the depicted person and to clarifying his social categorisation. The first one is his masculinity, which is clearly indicated by carefully placing two dots just in the right spot, and the second one is his pointed cap, which most likely indicates his role as a sportsman. Chariot drivers on Slovenian *situlae* all wear round caps, whereas some of the drivers on the *situla* from Bologna-Arnoaldi wear pointed caps (Frey 1969, Macellari 2002). The content of the image is reproduced as accurately as the constraints of materials and technologies allow. What we see here are the steps that change an image from a representation to a sign (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 62): emphasising the prototype by reduction and simplification, focussing on the most important by regulation and adding symmetry and structure, as well as deleting unnecessary and irrelevant details.

Some images, in contrast, change their properties as they become translated through technologies into other media. An example of this is the stereotypical image of the musician holding a lyre (Fig. 6.18). It does not only show details of the instrument itself, but allows observation of how it is held and played. If we take the lyre player from the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), as a starting point, we can almost go as far as counting the strings: but we can clearly see the musician sitting on a couch, holding the instrument pressed against his chest. The instrument is also depicted in very rich detail on the sheet bronze cist from Kleinklein, Austria (Prüssing 1991, Schmid 1933). In comparison to the musician the lyre is more than life-sized. A lot of attention is paid to the shape of the instrument and the number of strings, but the way in

which the object intersects with the person is completely different: the instrument is held away from the body, and the person is not sitting, but standing. This may mean that the lyre is handled and played differently north of the Alps. On pottery, the lyre player is carried out in four different decoration techniques. Sketching the image into the clay, as is done on a vessel from Reichersdorf, Austria (Neugebauer 1988: 98), or the vessel from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980), permits depiction of the lyre most accurately. It is shown with great care, including the strings and sound box. In addition to that, the instrument appears turned, giving the impression that the instrument is carried rather than played.

The musicians from Schirndorf, Germany (Stroh 1988: pl. 89), are composed of lines of impressions on a dark clay filled with white paste. A change in this and all further images is that the sound box is no longer depicted. A rolling stamp is used to manufacture the image from Ernstbrunn, Austria (Huth 2003: pl. 33), which drastically limits the scope of what can be shown. The lyre has become transformed into a rectangular box. Finally, the lyre player was painted on a few vessels: one bowl was found in a cremation grave in Loretto, Austria (Nebelsick 1994: pl. 69), and two large funerary vessels were found in Slovakian burial mounds: Janíky-Dolné Janíky (Studeníková 1996: Fig. 3.4) and Nové Košariská (Pichlerová 1969: pl. 4). In these cases, the lyre has become transformed into a geometrical object, rectangular or triangular, and is portrayed as held away from the body; the lyre player appears in conjunction with orants that may, in that context, be interpreted as dancers. The gender of the player, indicated by earrings and possibly also the form of the dress, has become irrelevant, and both females and males are playing the instrument. At this point it is impossible to read the image without any prior knowledge of the image content; this makes it likely that the original meaning of this stereotypical depiction of a musician had been

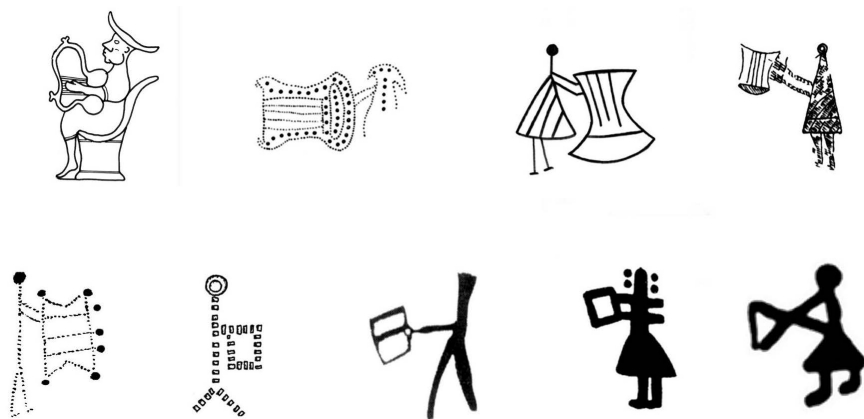


Figure 6.18 Musicians playing the lyre, from Bologna-Certosa (Italy), Kleinklein (Austria), Reichersdorf (Austria), Sopron-Várhely (Hungary), Schirndorf (Germany), Ernstbrunn (Austria), Loretto (Austria), Janíky-Dolné Janíky (Slovakia) and Nové Košariská (Slovakia), after the references cited in the text.

translated into a local context. It may no longer refer to a lyre player as such, but have become a shortcut to signify a ritual action such as a dedication. It could also have been merged with the stereotype of the carrier and re-interpreted as holding a vessel. What we are looking at is the social embedding of image content in different cultural contexts.

The embedding of an image, style or motif in a 'foreign' cultural context does not always mean that the attached meanings and ideas get imported as well. The depicted people and their involvement in the narrative scenes become moulded to fit social expectations that can be understood in the regional setting. We can think about this in terms of 'cultural re-interpretations', or the merging and 'creolisation' of ideas informed by different backgrounds.

Notes

- 1 Tracing Networks was funded by the Leverhulme Trust from 2008–2013, see www.tracingnetworks.ac.uk, accessed 17 November 2014.
- 2 www.thefreedictionary.com/figurine, accessed 17 November 2014.

7 The Hallstatt body in life and death

The human image can arise in two different ways: depicting an internal representation, and copying a model. In child development, it is well known that younger children depict what they know, whereas older children depict what they see (Huth 2003: 36). All people form an internal idea of what a human person should look like, what the main criteria of a person are, where the landmarks of the body are situated and which relationships they have with each other. The internal representation is normally schematic and abstract (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 56–58). Experimental studies with the Eipo in West Papua during the contact period, who were not used to seeing or producing human images, confirmed these principles. Upon being asked to depict a human, a man who had been asked to depict a woman and a boy asked to depict a man used the same principles: they drew a vertical line representing the body axis and then marked eyes, mouth and ears along the top of the axis. Arms and legs were represented as lines coming off the vertical line with five additional lines representing hands and feet. In addition, both added marks and symbols along the body axes to detail the identity of the depicted person: breasts, belt and the pubic region for the woman; arm bands, calves and a loincloth for the male individual (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 58, fig. 56). With this kind of representation, the artists do not take notice of people in the immediate vicinity and do not compare the images to the real world.

Depictions of individuals with the unique characteristics that characterise a person, such as physiognomy, facial expressions, character and age, do not become universally common in early Iron Age Europe. Rather, aspects of identity are signalled by way of attributes. Representing someone by using the natural person as a model does not seem to have been done. The composition of objects included in graves, however, paints a picture of the deceased in a very similar way (see Section 4.3). The similarities between some grave *stelae* and the inventories of the graves they marked are striking. The Warrior of Hirschlanden, Germany (Plate 1, Zürn 1964b), is equipped with the same items that have been found in the grave of Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a). The most prominent early La Tène example, the Glauberg, Germany (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002), contained the grave of a male warrior with exactly the same objects depicted on the stone representation, including the headgear, torc with three pendants, arm and finger rings and shield. Nothing in the way the face is made suggests any individual traits; fragments of

at least three further statues of the same type do not seem to differ in any way from the most complete one. Copying not from a person, but from another piece of art, was by far the most common way a human depiction came into being in the early Iron Age. Dependencies between prototype and copy can be traced all over Europe for certain image types.

7.1 Reading faces

Humans are conditioned to read faces. We tend to see faces everywhere, even in inanimate objects (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 167), such as trees and stones, when our brains combine natural dots and lines to make a face. Facial expressions, the motions and positions of the muscles of the face, are particularly important in non-verbal communication, as they are tied to a person's emotive state and can only be partially controlled. The link between emotive states and facial expression developed over the course of our evolutionary history (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 372) and can therefore, to a degree, be universally understood. The expression and reading of these emotions is thus constant over time. The eye, with its sharp contrast between the white sclera and the iris/pupil, seems to have evolved in tandem with the ability to read where other people look. Staring, for example, is considered threatening across cultures, and so in many cultures, eyes have become an apotropaic symbol. The subtlety of variations in facial features, which deliver messages of mood and emotion, are difficult to capture in artistic representation. The position of the head, for instance, is expressive and significant – even subtle differences such as raising the chin might suggest arrogance, the opposite may suggest defeat and submission, a slight tilting of the head signals affection (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 372–373).

Because the face is so important in communication, it is surprising that the head seems to play only a minor role for the human representations of the Central European early Iron Age. The vast majority of the human images are depicted without facial features. The head is represented as a globular or conical solid in three dimensions and as a stroke, dot, dent or circle in two dimensions. More than a third ($n = 1028$, 39 per cent) of the 2640 human images with heads show facial features (254 heads are not preserved, and 109 images do not depict heads – they are mainly isolated body parts). In the transition from the Hallstatt to the La Tène period, the emphasis shifts entirely and the head becomes one of the most often depicted figurative art elements. The head is most often shown from the front and appears isolated from the rest of the body (e.g., Bagley 2014).

The selection of facial features to represent in a human image follows generic principles, as well as principles of perspective and mode of depiction. As we have seen, the material in which a human image appears is one of the most decisive factors for the outcome. It is useful to consult eye-tracking studies (Fig. 7.1, Yarbus 1967) for generic principles of how faces are read. They measure the point of gaze and the motion of the eyes as they look at a person or object and thus reveal reference points for perception. The principal reference points for faces are the eyes, followed by the nose and mouth region, before the outline of the face is tracked.

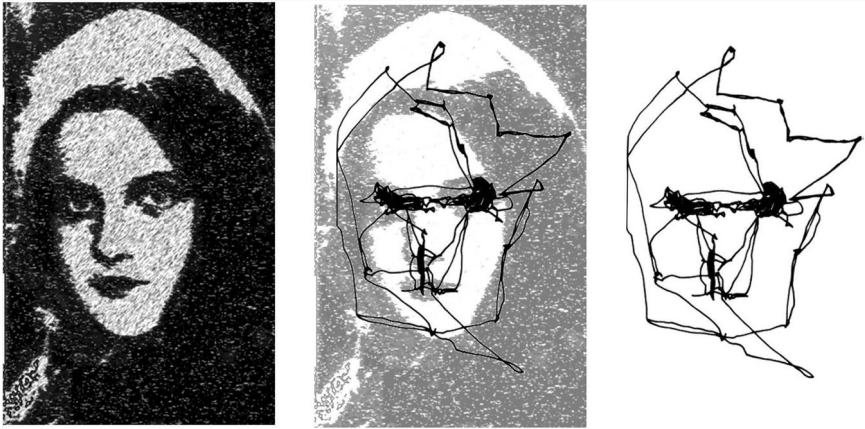


Figure 7.1 Eye tracking recorded during free examination of the picture with both eyes for a minute (after Yarbus 1967: 179, fig. 114)

For the perception of early Iron Age human representations, however, the outline is clearly most important, even if only represented by a globe or circle, as it affects all human images. The second most important features are the nose (c. 1028) and eyes (c. 968), followed by the chin (c. 837), mouth (c. 773), ears (c. 599), neck (c. 332), cheeks (c. 251) and hair (c. 118). As these features are sometimes difficult to identify, the numbers must remain inaccurate. They also reflect the choice of perspective and materials more than the importance of certain body parts. Frontal depictions are most often very rudimentary; fewer than 5 per cent draw attention to the noses, and only slightly more than 5 per cent to the eyes. Other facial features are even rarer. They are more prominent in depictions in profile, either left or right. Especially the nose and chin protrude and are characteristic for the human face. Forty-nine per cent of persons depicted in profile have one or both of these features; eyes follow with 40 per cent. The large number of *situla* figures in this group explains why cheeks are a common feature, too – in both repoussé and chasing a punch is often applied from the back of the bronze sheet in that area of the face to make it look more plastic. About a third of three-dimensional figurines emphasise both eyes and nose – they are commonly modelled together rather than as separate features – whereas the mouth is modelled only in 22 per cent and the ears in 13 per cent of human figurines. The effect of the material used for depiction is less pronounced than the perspective for facial features. Depictions in ceramics – and this includes both the figurines and images on the surface of pottery vessels – are most likely to include noses (13 per cent) and eyes (11 per cent), followed by ears (7 per cent). Only about three per cent show the mouth, and other facial features are even rarer. Depictions in bronze, including works of Situla Art and stamps of all varieties, depict the nose (36 per cent) and eyes (36 per cent) most often, followed by chin (31 per cent), mouth (27 per cent), ears (19 per cent) and cheeks (11 per cent).

Male faces are generally crafted in a more expressive way than female faces, with 788 of them (65 per cent) showing at least the nose (compared with 165, or 42 per cent for women); this is due to the much higher proportion of male figures on *situlae* and higher proportion of female depictions on ceramics. Comparing the individual facial features against each other, there is little difference between male and female faces. Noses, eyes and mouths occur in roughly the same proportions. Cheeks, however, are much more frequent in male depictions (22 per cent compared with 2 per cent), as are ears (35 per cent compared with 15 per cent). Women's ears are quite frequently covered by a veil.

Even when faces are rendered in considerable detail, their facial features remain strangely absent of any emotions and expressions. It would have been easy to bend the line of the mouth ever so slightly as to create a smiling or frowning face, and yet this was never done. The stiff upper lip, even in scenes that practically evoke emotions such as the sex scenes or racing, boxing and making music, is indeed remarkable. The facial expressions range from contented to contempt, if they were to be described in modern terms, but most often appear lifeless. The fact that people are shown in lively scenes of actions creates a noticeable tension, almost as if the images were situated somewhere between life and death. If they indeed indicate the imagined afterworld, it was not an utterly happy place.

The idea that faces were covered with masks has been explored in the context of the sword scabbard of Hallstatt, Austria (cf. Barth and Urban 2007, Egg and Schönfelder 2009), where the mounted warriors seem to be masked; the extra line at the neck may also, however, depict the chin strap of the helmet. Cavalry masks for commanders are known from Classical Antiquity. Whilst they include an element of protection, masks provide a static image of facial expressions and emotions, disguising reality and transforming the person. Masks have been used for millennia across many cultures of the world, for practical, ritual and entertainment purposes (cf. Napier 1986, Pernet 1992). The sheet-bronze face and hand masks from Kleinklein, Austria (Plate 13, Egg 2013), in contrast, are unique in the Hallstatt world and were most likely fixed to a wooden container; they seem more related to death masks than masks that were worn.

7.2 *Gestalt*: perspective, body form, proportions and bodily ideals

The search for outline and proportions, the search for *gestalt*, remains crucial for the perception of the body. As we have seen, the outline is the most important feature of the head in the early Iron Age. Understanding the body outline is also directly linked to the mode of representation. Cross-culturally, humans are most often depicted from the front, whereas animals are depicted from the side (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 181). This resonates in early Iron Age imagery when, for example, a horse is shown from the side, but the rider from the front in the same picture (e.g. Turska kosa, Croatia, Balen-Letunić 2004: 204, fig. 22). The overall numbers paint a different picture: of the 3148 analysed human representations, $n = 550$ (17 per cent) are rendered in three dimensions, $n = 1067$ (34 per

cent) are shown from the front and $n = 1524$ (48 per cent) from the side ($n = 895$, 28 per cent show the right side, $n = 629$, 20 per cent the left side). A considerable gender difference is noticeable: whereas 36 per cent of all female depictions ($n = 391$) are three-dimensional, 30 per cent are shown from the front and 34 per cent from the side; only 20 per cent of all males ($n = 1215$) are three dimensional, with four per cent shown from the front, but 76 per cent from the side. Leaving the obvious issues of material and image carrier choices aside, it seems that for females, the corporeal appearance was more important, whereas activities were foregrounded for men, which were easier to show from a side perspective.

Body proportions are important for a coarse ad-hoc gender classification. Sexual dimorphism develops after puberty: women develop breasts and hips, men's shoulders grow and they become taller than women. These characteristics are sex typical rather than sex specific, as there is a considerable amount of overlap; further, exercise, diet and gendered body practices may affect the body shape (Harris and Hofmann 2014: 268). The female prototype has a slim waist and broad hips, with a waist-to-hip ratio of 0.71 considered to be most attractive. The male prototype has broad shoulders and narrow hips (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 181). This scheme, translated into a stylized form, is a triangle on its base and on its tip, respectively. According to transcultural studies conducted in Germany and Tanzania the gendered triangle scheme is understandable even to children from the age of about seven (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 306). Clothing conventions, however, can mask and overpower these principles of body perception and become equally internalised.

Geometric shapes such as triangles and hourglasses are commonly used as outlines for human depictions on bronze and pottery. Rudimentary anthropomorphic bronze pendants often take this shape. There has been a considerable amount of debate in how far these shapes can be read as indicating gender, especially revolving around the large storage vessels found in the northeastern Hallstatt area. The simplest form, the triangle on the base with some indication of a head and/or arms, develops ornamental patterns into human depictions. They are interpreted as orants, female figures praying or lamenting; the triangle form also resonates with ideas about the three stages of a woman's lifecycle and the goddesses of fate (Eibner 1997: 129–135). A gendered interpretation of the shape alone, however, seems hard to justify (cf. Leskovar 2005). Some more complex scenes with slight differences between the depicted figures call for caution.

The most famous scene on the vessel from Tumulus 27, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Fig. 7.2, Plate 5, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 17), depicts two classic orant figures with arms stretched out and bent up, plus one figure weaving and one spinning. All four are dressed in the same way, with triangular-shaped dresses filled with geometric ornaments, and they all are adorned with rings next to their heads, most likely indicating earrings or bronze spirals braided into the hair. The fifth figure towards the right of the loom, playing the lyre, is depicted without the 'female' jewellery, and the triangle that defines the body shape is much slimmer: its base is about half the width of the other triangles. This figure, on the basis of dress, jewellery and activity, may be male.

Lyre players on a vessel from a different grave, Tumulus 28, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29), however, are dressed in trousers. They are flanked by larger figures with bell-shaped, geometric dresses, possibly women dancing and spinning so that their skirts open. Pairs of figures, both dressed in trousers and skirts and shown opposing each other, decorate the belly of the vessel. Again, they might be shown dancing or fighting, but the rudimentary form of depiction does not allow further conclusions. The triangle is also the basic body shape of a figure hunting and a figure on a wagon, both on the same vessel, whereas a figure shown (dragged?) behind the wagon is sketched as a stick figure.

The vessel from Grave 3, Sopron-Váris, Hungary (Fig. 7.2, Gallus 1934: pl. 16.2), is the last of the more complex scenes from the northeastern Hallstatt area. It shows three orant figures, complete with hands in the air, triangle dress and artistically ornamented heads, next to three more figures, also dressed in triangle dresses, but without head ornaments. One of them is riding a horse, and the two further figures are engaged in a scene that has evoked a number of different interpretations, ranging from offering a bird, mounting wool from a basket on a distaff or warping a loom for weaving, to forging a knife with a hammer on an anvil (Kern 2009d). The textile work interpretations would point to the female gender of the depicted persons, and forging to the male gender. Offering could be done by both; the lack of head ornaments (in particular in contrast with other figures in the same scene) points to male gender.

It has become clear that the triangle shape alone does not, in all instances, indicate a female person, but the clothed human shape more generally. Overcoats and cloaks as well as tunics/dresses seem to have been worn by both genders and may be behind the triangle-as-person theme. A belted tunic or shirt/blouse and skirt combination accentuating the waist results in an hourglass shape. This geometric form, composed of a triangle on its tip combined with a triangle for its base, underlies human depictions from southern German sites like Dietldorf, Kirchenreinbach, Pettenhofen or Bamberg (Reichenberger 2000: pl. 3–7). Although on general principles of perception they evoke an association with the male gender, there is little detail to support this interpretation. Only the figure on the lid from Pettenhofen (Torbrügge 1979: pl. 53.12) wears a triangular hat or helmet, which points to the male more than the female sphere. The figures from Reichersdorf, Austria (Neugebauer and Gattringer 1986: 95), combine diamond shapes with triangles on their bases and seem more like orants. At this site, western and eastern design principles have merged.

Eye tracking studies on the female body have shown that the face and chest are the most important points of reference, followed by the waist and hip as well as belly and pubic area (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 303) – those most likely to assess the reproductive status of the woman. For men, the focus also lies on the face, chest and genitals for both heterosexual and homosexual viewers (at least when it comes to Michelangelo's David, Brignull 2009).

Body proportions and attractiveness or beauty are intrinsically linked. Beauty and attractiveness are cognitive constructs in the eye of the beholder (Grammer et al. 2003: 399). Underlying evolutionary principles, however, mean that what

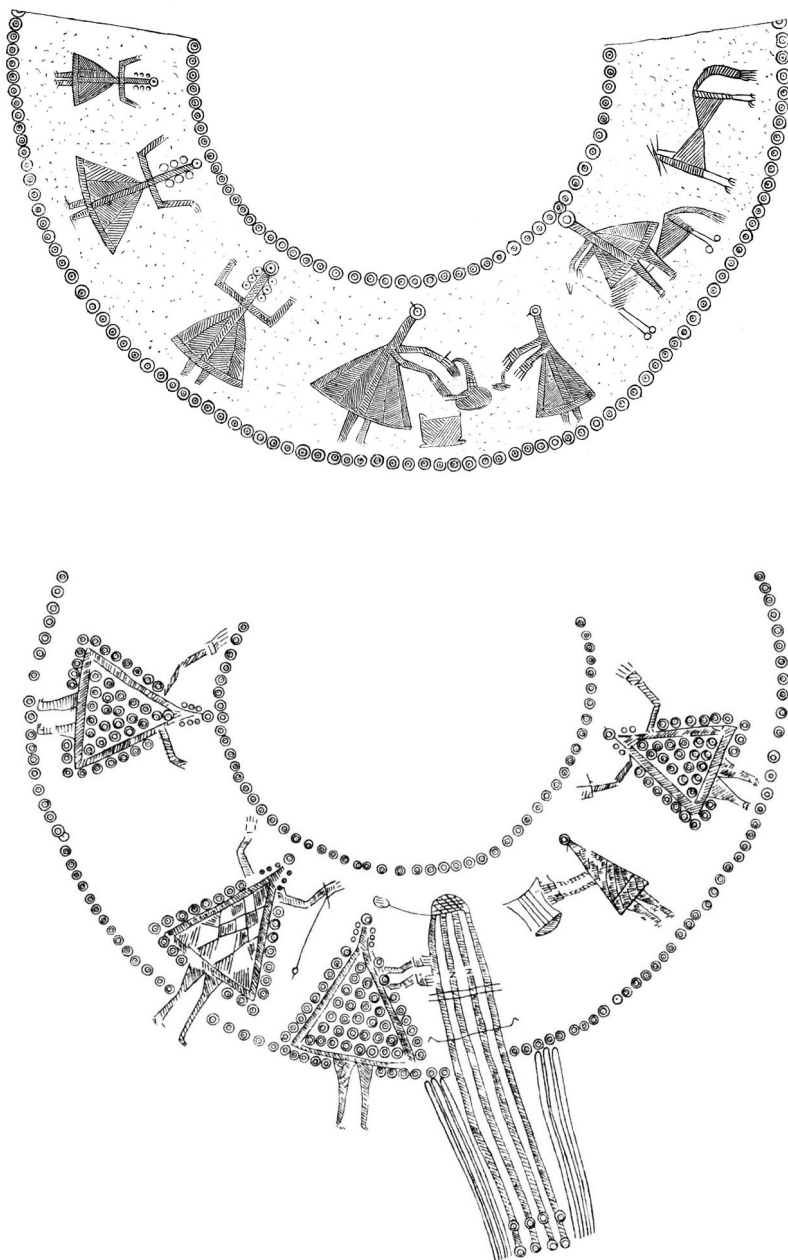


Figure 7.2 Scenic depictions of people with the triangle as underlying geometric principle, from Grave 3, Sopron-Váris, Hungary (Gallus 1934: pl. 16.2) and Tumulus 27, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Plate 5, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 17, courtesy of Alexandrine Eibner)

is perceived as beautiful must serve an adaptive advantage. Cultures may have changing beauty standards, but the standards are biologically based (Grammer et al. 2003: 401). The psychology of physical attraction investigates what beauty connotes: health, goodness, innocence and the like (Swami and Furnham 2008: 9–20). Attractiveness bias (Dion, Berscheid and Walster 1972) means that beautiful people are favoured and treated differentially and tend to get more attention, be more successful and have a higher social status.

What is considered beautiful is different for men and women. Humans are sexually size dimorphic (Grammer et al. 2003: 402) with males on average larger than females. Sexual selection is based on a mating system in which females limit the male reproductive success; the females are the choosers because their reproductive resources are more limited. In the animal kingdom, the choosers are normally in camouflage, grey or brown. In human societies, both sexes spend a considerable amount of time and effort on enhancing their beauty and associated mating chances (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 298). Females select for socio-economic status, social position, prestige and wealth more than attractiveness. Males, on the other hand, choose reproductive capacity rather than social status (Grammer et al. 2003: 389). In both sexes, basic features of human attractiveness are symmetry, averageness and sex-hormone markers, which give basic insights into the current health status of the individual and their reproductive capability.

Although beauty standards may vary between cultures and times, some elements are cross-culturally universal (Grammer et al. 2003: 385). The face is important and powerful, along with a firm and slim body, as well as pure skin; signs of age such as wrinkles and missing teeth are considered unattractive. Symmetric features suggest a stable growth environment and the absence of diseases and parasites. Grace and elegance in movement are also clues to symmetry and health. Facial features develop under the hormonal influences of testosterone and oestrogen; males tend to have wider jaws, big chins, wider shoulders and more hair. Females with clear skin and little body hair are preferred. They need to look mature enough to be considered attractive (the age of 24 is considered the peak of female attractiveness and the optimal age for reproduction). Whereas male bellies and male overall fatness is unattractive, about 25 per cent fat in the body mass of women is required for stable levels of female sex hormones; it is distributed most attractively at visible places like breasts and buttocks (Grammer et al. 2003: 391).

The waist-to-hip ratio (WHR) is an indicator of good health. The smallest circumference of the waist just above the belly button is divided by the hip circumference at its widest part of the buttocks or hip to calculate the value. A value of 0.9 is considered optimal for men, and 0.71 is considered most attractive for women. Women with an optimal waist-to-hip ratio get pregnant most easily. The BMI (body mass index, i.e., weight scaled for height), is also an important factor (Tovée, Brown and Jacobs 2001: 1009). Granting that different ethnic groups have varying risk associated with high BMIs, below 19 and above 25 indicates higher health risks and lower fertility. In unstable environments, plump females are normally preferred over the ones of ideal reproductive weight, as heavier mothers tend to have more children. Amongst the semi-nomadic Moors of the



Plate 1 The Warrior of Hirschlanden, Germany (height: 150 cm)

© Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart, photo: P. Frankenstein / H. Zwietsch



Plate 2 The *situla* in Providence, USA (height: 27.2 cm)

© Rhode Island School of Design



Plate 3 Detail of the *situla* in Providence, USA

© Rhode Island School of Design



Plate 4 Tintinnabulum of Bologna, Italy (height: 11.5 cm)

© akq-images / Erich Lessing



Plate 5 Vessel with weaving scene from Tumulus 27, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (height: 41.5 cm)

© Naturhistorisches Museum Wien



Plate 6 Aulos player from Százhalombatta, Hungary (height: 7.3 cm)

© Matrica Múzeum, Százhalombatta



Plate 7 Aulos player from Cist XIII, Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (height: c. 10.5 cm)

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Plate 8 Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (height: 46.2 cm)

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Plate 9 Early Iron Age textiles from the salt mines of Hallstatt, Austria (different scales)

© Naturhistorisches Museum Wien, photo: A. Rausch / K. Grömer



Plate 10 Female figurine from Gemeinlebarn, Austria (height: 9.5 cm)

© Naturhistorisches Museum Wien



Plate 11 Dame de Vix, France (height: 19 cm)

© akg-images / De Agostini Picture Lib. / G. Dagli Orti



Plate 12 Belt plate from Brezje, Slovenia (height: 6 cm)

© Naturhistorisches Museum Wien



Plate 13 Face and hand masks from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (height of mask: 19 cm)

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Plate 14 Warrior on the *situla* from Sesto Calende, Italy (height: 17.5 cm)

© akg-images / Erich Lessing



Plate 15 Lead figures from Frög, Austria (height: c. 2.5 cm)

© akg-images / Erich Lessing



Plate 16 Detail from the *klinē* of Hochdorf, Germany

© Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart, photo: P. Frankenstein / H. Zwietasch

Sahara desert, for example, girls are systematically fattened by feeding and making them immobile before marriage (Popenoe 2004).

The advantage of using the waist-to-hip ratio for this analysis is that it can be measured from the front, the profile or the circumference (Marlowe, Apicella and Reed 2005), and although frontal WHR measurements differ among cultural groups because of different body fat storage patterns in different population groups, it is a measurement that can also be made for human representations. The female ceramic figurines from Gemeinlebarn, Austria (Plate 10, Kromer 1958), have a WHR of c. 0.55 to 0.66, in part through their skirt-like dress. The male Langenlebarn figurines (Austria, Preinfalk 2003), in contrast, show a range in WHR from 0.77 to 0.82. The sexless figurines show almost no difference between the waist and hip measurements. The WHR of the bronze figurines from Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a), ranges between 0.4 and 0.7, but little difference can be observed between the sexes. Human images on *situlae* are most often shown dressed in long tunics and cloaks, with no difference between the circumference of the waist and hips. The belted female figures, for example, from Welzelach, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 76), come close to the 0.71 ideal. Male figures with bare upper body and short dresses, however, are also shown with a similar WHR. It can be concluded that sex-typical body proportions were not reflected in the way bodies were represented.

Sexual dimorphism regarding size was also only rarely accounted for in early Iron Age art. According to anthropological analyses, the average Hallstatt period man was around 170 cm tall and the average woman about 10 cm shorter; high-status individuals with good access to nutritious food like the 'prince' of Hochdorf, who reached a height of c. 187 cm, were sometimes taller (see Section 3.4). Men are either represented as tall as women on *situlae* (e.g., Magdalenska gora et al. 2004: app. 4) or slightly shorter (e.g., Bologna-Certosa, Italy, and Welzelach, Austria, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64 and 76), especially when they are depicted carrying loads on their heads. Rather than a deliberate attempt at depicting women shorter, the women's sizes are constrained by the height of the frieze, to which all figures are adjusted. Paired bronze figurines of men and women, such as the ones from Esslingen, Germany (Zürn 1987: pl. 79), Unterlunkhofen, Switzerland (Schmid-Sikimić 1996: pl. 101), and Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a), do not show any size differences. The central female figurine from Strettweg is, at 22.6 cm, about twice as tall as the female, male and sexless persons that average c. 12 cm in height. Her special ritual status as goddess or priestess might have been underlined by this difference in size.

Representations of children are oddly rare in the early Iron Age, with only a few exceptions (see Section 7.6). Children are represented with the same proportions, but not as tall as adults. Body proportions in reality change markedly from birth to adulthood. The head is about a quarter of the length of a person at birth, but only about one sixth to one eighth in adults. The legs are about a third of the body length at birth and about one half in adults. Slight changes in proportions are a means of emphasising particular body parts in art; heroic images, for instance, emphasise the chest and elongate the legs. In early Iron Age art from

central Europe, there is little consistency in terms of the head-to-body or leg-to-body ratios. Heads range from child-like and oversized to naturalistic in figurines; in Situla Art the head takes up a quarter to a fifth of the body length; on pottery heads are often just indicated by a stamp or small circle far too small for an actual representation.

Fatness and obesity (Uliaszek and Lofink 2006) play no role in early Iron Age imagery. In contrast to figurines of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods, in which fat women were most likely represented to emphasise their reproductive ability, no such representations exist in the early Iron Age. Body shapes of figurines are most influenced by the choice of material (see Section 6.3.1), but whereas elongated and extremely slim bodies are common, fatness does not feature at all. So far, little attention has been paid to possible indicators of obesity in graves, such as traces of disease that correlate with fatness, or the position of arms spaced at a distance from the rest of the body (Müller-Scheeßel 2008: 519). Bronze belts may also indicate waist circumference. A waist measurement of 94 cm or more for men or 80 cm or more for women is considered an indicator of a tendency to being overweight (Lean, Han and Morrison 1995). The bronze belt from Statzendorf, Austria (Rebay 2006: 171), is adjustable and allows to be fastened at 64.2, 71.7, 76.3, 80.9 and 85.5 cm. Given the fact that the belts are worn over textiles, this alone indicates the belt was worn by a rather slim person and certainly not during advanced pregnancy. One hole for the belt hook looks most worn – it is the one for a belt circumference of c. 80 cm.

Early Iron Age imagery presents a bodily ideal of normality. The only major factors that are accounted for are sex and gender (see Section 7.4), but there are no obvious individual bodily variations such as beauty or disability (Finlay 1999) that are rewarded or stigmatised. The Hallstatt body in art is not that of an individual, but a specific type of body, characterised by sex and gender, dress, postures, gestures and associated objects.

7.3 Body parts and hybridity

This chapter examines representations of isolated human body parts and body parts that have been combined with animal (parts) and objects to create new entities (Figs 7.3 and 7.5). Observing patterns of partition and re-combination teaches us how the human body was thought of being composed, where partitioning lines were thought to be in place, and which body parts probably had meanings attached that went beyond merely being a part of a whole.

Ceramic body parts in conjunction with ceramic vessels are rare in the early Iron Age period. An isolated ceramic hand was found at Prächting, Germany (Reichenberger 2000: pl. 6, fig. 28); it may be interpreted in terms of its apotropaic function. Shoe vessels go back to the late Bronze Age. Well known are the 22 examples from the cemetery of Budapest-Békásmegyer, Hungary (Kalicz-Schreiber 2010), but one has even been found on the late Bronze Age settlement of the Glauberg, Germany (Baitinger 2007). Further objects cluster in the northeastern Hallstatt region. Arms raised in an orant gesture coming out of a

ceramic vessel from Nové Košariská, Tumulus 6, Slovakia (Pichlerová 1969: pl. 30), and at Marz, Austria (Heger 1903), have palms facing up and are complete with fingers. Anthropomorphic feet as pedestals are known from Lednice, Czech Republic (Forman, Forman and Poulik 1956: 103), Statzendorf, Gemeinlebarn, and Jois, Austria (Pescheck 1942: pl. 48, 2, Rebay 2006: 92, Szombathy 1929: pl. 25, fig. 1), Nové Košariská, Slovakia (Pichlerová 1969), and Sopron, Hungary (Gallus 1938: 23, fig. 23). The feet are either shown in some kind of footwear, perhaps a boot, or complete with toes (albeit only four instead of five). The number of legs per vessel ranges between two and three; depending on the view of the onlooker, however, only two are visible at any one time. Whereas some of these vessels merely seem to play with the analogy between vessel and body, the orant arms cross the line to the sacred and place the vessels firmly in the realm of funerary symbolism.

The integration of isolated body parts into patterns of ornamentation are a defining feature of early La Tène art (Jacobsthal 1944, Megaw and Megaw 2001), but their predecessors can be found in early Iron Age art. The motif of a human leg, complete from the toes to just over the slightly bent knee and protruding from a beast's mouth, is known from Este, Italy, and Vače, Slovenia. It adorns belt plates and bronze *situlae* (Frey 1969: pl. 71 and 77) as well as a ceramic stamp at Este, Italy (Capuis and Serafini 1996); at Vače (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73); it is also found on a bronze *situla*. The addition of a human leg underlines the fierceness and cruelty of the mythological creature in the picture, which can almost certainly be assigned to the world after death.

Isolated legs and feet as bronze pendants are known from Grossaltdorf and Zwiefalten-Upflamör, Germany (Frey 2005: pl. 3b, Zürn 1987: pl. 325), but hands are much more common. The hands include right and left hands, although they are sometimes not easy to distinguish and are cut off at about the middle of the lower arm. Sometimes several of them are used as pendants on *fibulae* and for rattling pendants. They were found in graves and sanctuaries, for example, at Bitnje, Brezje, and Libna, Slovenia (Kromer 1959a: pl. 3, Warneke 1999: fig. 83), or Gazzo Veronese and Este-Baratella, Italy (Dämmer 2002). More or less isolated faces decorate *fibula* pendants at Vače and Stična, Slovenia (Starè 1970: pl. 3, Wells 1981: 20), and appear at the chest of bronze plaque figures from Mechel and Cles, Italy, and an unknown Swiss site (Egg 1986a, Höck 1997: no. 106). The addition of hands and faces is most easily explained by an apotropaic function, warding off evil by the gesture of the hands and the gaze; it is unclear, however, how feet could be explained in this context. Figurative *fibulae* in the form of shoes become common in early Celtic art (Bagley 2009, Warneke 1999).

The majority of depictions of isolated body parts come from sanctuaries and can be interpreted in terms of anatomical votive dedications. As elsewhere in the Mediterranean World (e.g., Oberhelman 2014), representations of body parts are thought to refer specifically to illnesses and diseases of the particular body part shown. It is unclear if they represent a prayer before or gratitude after successful healing; the body parts themselves seem to show no direct sign of illness, but rather the ideal, healthy counterpart. The sanctuaries at Este, Italy (Ruta Serafini

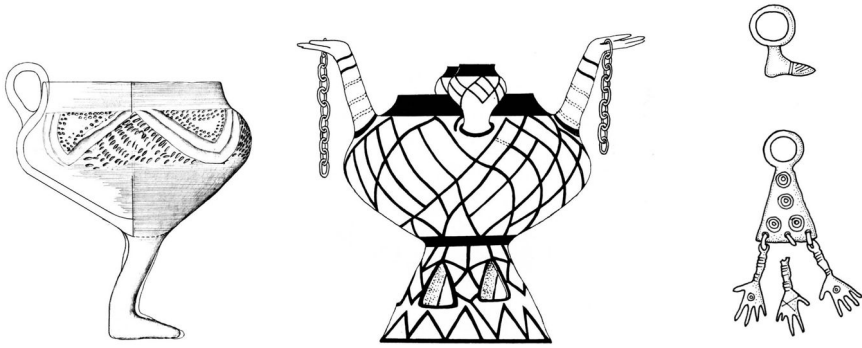


Figure 7.3 Body parts on objects, from Statzendorf, Austria (Rebay 2006: 92), Nové Košariská, Slovakia (after Pichlerová 1969: pl. 30), Zwiefalten-Upflamör, Germany (after Zürn 1987: pl. 325) and Brezje, Slovenia (after Kromer 1959a: pl. 3)

2002), were particularly rich in three-dimensional cast bronzes and bronze plaques depicting body parts. Amongst those, there are hands, feet and legs, single eyes and pairs of eyes and faces, as well as male and female body parts. Male genitals include representations of the penis and scrotum, sometimes with indications of pubic hair (e.g., Gambacurta 2002: 273, fig. 116,1); female genitals are shown as pairs of breasts (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi 2002: 246, fig. 102, 28) or a section of a woman's lower body indicating the vulva (Gambacurta 2002: 273, fig. 116,6). Arms and feet cut out of sheet bronze appear as far north as the sanctuary of Mechel, Italy (Marzatico 2001). It is interesting to note that the votives around the city of Este show parts of the human body only from the outside and not in their anatomically dissected state. Organ votives showing precise renderings of inner anatomy such as the womb are known from Etruscan sanctuaries (e.g., Baggieri 1998).

From analysing isolated body parts depicted in early Iron Age art, we may conclude that hands, feet and heads were seen as particularly distinct parts, with partitioning lines at the neck, mid-arm before the elbow, and varying lines at the lower extremities from mid-thigh to ankles. Anatomical votives further suggest that the body was understood in regions rather than as organic systems; the body surface, not the interior features in the representations. There are, however, only a few artefacts to consider, too few for a full interpretation. Hands were the body parts most emphasised and perhaps infused with meaning relating to gestures (see Section 7.9.2) such as warding off evil.

Hybrids are animals, plants and things emerging from the combination of different elements (cf. Kristoffersen 2010: 263). Humans and objects are merged in a curious way on the *situla* of Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75). A presumably wooden wine rack, on which six *situlae* are hung, is depicted in the middle of a feasting scene (see Fig. 6.7). The piece of furniture is decorated with two life-sized human beings sitting on top of the vertical beams; their legs

are stretched out, their upper body is leaning forward and the bald head is facing backwards; arms and hands are not visible.

The combination of human (parts) with animal (parts) to form a new whole may follow several formalistic conventions and thus require a definition of the nature of the mixing (Hughes 2010). The anatomy of hybrids ranges from combinations of whole bodies with animal attachments, to human–animal combinations recomposed along fictive dividing lines, in which body parts remain distinct and can still be recognised, to truly mixed beings with characteristics of humans and animals bleeding into each other, without being able to define the boundaries clearly.

Early Iron Age art draws heavily on ideas of hybrid beings from the Classical World. Several of these can be identified and named in the material. Most hybrid beings, however, come into the Hallstatt world via the Etruscans, where the precise nature of the mixture is more difficult to disentangle. In the orientalisising seventh century BC in particular, central Italy becomes a hotspot for trade and connections throughout the Mediterranean and to the Near East. Iconographic and mythical ideas from afar become integrated and merged with indigenous ideas to create a range of ‘fantastic beasts’ (Biella, Giovanelli and Perego 2012). Some may be traced to Assyrian prototypes, such as the *lamassu*, a winged bull or lion with the head of a human male. The hybrid beings of the Hallstatt world draw from this image world, but are sometimes not straightforward to classify.

Sphinxes are mythical creatures combining lion bodies with human faces or heads; in the Egyptian tradition, they tend to be male. Egyptian, Assyrian and Persian sphinxes are often placed outside palaces and graveyards to guard against evil. Greek mythology knows one individual female sphinx with the head of a woman, the body of a lioness, the wings of a large bird and a serpent tail. Related to the Chimaera, the Nemean lion and Cerberus, the sphinx is a monster with connotations of destruction and bad luck (Cartwright 2012b).

The pair of sphinxes from the burial mound of Grafenbühl, Germany, one made entirely of ivory, the other of bone with an ivory face (Fischer 1990), are considered products of a southern Italian workshop. The Grafenbühl sphinxes show the human face from the front, whereas the rest of the body is shown in profile; the hairstyle with shoulder-length hair points to a Near Eastern iconographic origin. The sphinx on a scabbard of a dagger from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Kromer 1962: 36, pl. 24), is shown entirely in profile. The human head still displays long hair, but the merging line between the lion back and the human upper body is complicated. The forelegs of the lion are missing; instead, we see at least one human arm reaching out to a bird. The sphinxes on the bronze bowl from Castelletto Ticino, Italy (Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004: 296, fig. 3), integrated siren elements. The head and upper body shown from the front appear human, although the arms are wings and the body surface has feathers or scales. This half-upper body is mounted on a lion’s lower body in profile. The sphinxes from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: pl. 24.3), Waisenberg, Austria (Gleirscher 2009), and Hallstatt, Grave 696, Austria (Prüssing 1991: 343, pl. 123), seem more adjusted to the prevalent local styles. All three sphinxes appear with lion bodies, although it is rather obvious that the artist has probably never seen a

lion. The size of the animal bodies is adjusted to the other animals in the frieze, on the Waisenberg and Hallstatt lids to stags and chamois and on the belt plate from Magdalenska gora to other fantastic creatures. Whereas the Hallstatt sphinx wears a cap, the Waisenberg and Magdalenska gora sphinxes are shown with bald heads – both choices fit within the local iconographic conventions. Last, sphinxes appear on small bronzes, such as a *fibula* from Belluno, Italy (Frey 1969: 87, fig. 50), or a small bronze plaque from a sanctuary at Este, Italy (Salerno 2002: 155, fig. 20).

Whereas the mythical creature in the central frieze of the *situla* from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), can almost certainly be identified as a sphinx by its human head, lion body and wings, the winged creature in the top frieze combines elements of sphinx and centaur. Centaurs combine the body of a horse with a man. In Greek mythology, they represent barbarism and chaos; some individual named centaurs have their own mythological stories attached and a more complex character (Cartwright 2012a). The representations of centaurs in Greek art follow an interesting chronological development: in the Archaic period, they start out as full human bodies with the back of a horse attached at their lower back; during the fifth century BC, however, they become more animalised and the human legs disappear, making room for four legs of a horse (Hughes 2010: 103). The human upper body and torso are now joined to the body of the horse where its neck would be. On the *situla* from Este-Benvenuti a full human body, with face in profile and upper body seen from the front, is shown walking left. He has a dagger in his right hand, pursuing a giant bird, and holds the tip of the wings with his left hand. The half-body of a lion (?) protrudes from his back. The helmet from Oppiano, Italy (Huth 2003: pl. 78), is composed in a very similar manner. This time, the winged human with arms walks after a horse, grabbing its tail, and has the half-body of a horse attached at his back. Unclear are also the two hybrids from the upper frieze of the cist from Appiano, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62). Human headed and winged, their bodies bear little resemblance to lions, but rather to horses, bulls or Alpine game. The central hybrid from *situla* II, Este-Boldù-Dolfin, Italy (Fig. 7.4, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 2), similarly has a body resembling a horse perhaps more than a lion. The human head is shown in profile with a helmet; it has wings, but no arms. Just behind, there is another smaller hybrid creature, consisting almost entirely of a head with helmet in profile, joined to a bunch of feathers as the lower body.

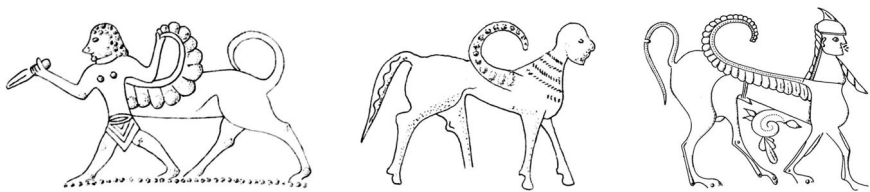


Figure 7.4 Hybrid beings from Este-Benvenuti, Appiano and Este-Boldù-Dolfin (after Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62, 65, app. 2)

Humans with wings, often depicted in the midst of beasts, creeping behind prey and just about to attack from behind, seem the central motif of these hybrids. The winged figure of a man in profile from Padova-Via Tiepolo, Italy (Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 1), seems to fit this theme, although he has not got an animal joined to his back. He is depicted walking to the right, following a stag with large antlers. He has both wings and arms; in fact, the hands seem to hold the tips of his wings. The winged creatures of northern Italian Situla Art seem male; this is in contrast to the sirens of Greek mythology, which combine features of women and birds. Sirens are both beautiful and dangerous and particularly their song is seductive; sirens are thought of as muses or demons of death. Their shape in Greek art is also subject to transformation over time: whereas early examples dating to the sixth century BC are human-headed birds, later Classical examples have arms and often carry musical instruments (Hughes 2010: 103). Whereas the earlier winged humans do not seem directly connected to the idea of the siren, sirens did come north of the Alps via Etruscan imports, such as the beaked flagons from Sunzing, Austria, and Hradiště, Czech Republic (Straub 1980: Fig. 13.2, 13.4). Little bronze figures with human heads and wings of a bird, raised like hands over the head, which adorn bronze helmets from Brezje, Magdalenska gora and Vače, Slovenia (Egg 1980b: 244, fig. 2, Hencken 1978: 108, Kromer 1959a: pl. 7), are more likely connected to the earlier tradition.

Satyrs combine features of humans and horses in different ways than centaurs. Said to be the male companions of Dionysus in Greek mythology, they are normally depicted with pointed, horse-like ears, a horse tail and a large, horse-like penis, representing virility and fertility. Silenus, the most important of the satyrs, is most often depicted. Early representations depict features of old men and include equine legs, but from the sixth century BC onwards, human legs are most common, and the figure gradually transforms into a youthful one (Gantz 1996: 135). The handle attachment on the bronze flagon from Kleinaspergle, Germany (Kimmig 1988), shows an isolated head with horse-like ears and a puffy forehead, cheeks and chin; previously interpreted as an Etruscan import, it now seems more likely to be an indigenous production. The burial mound dates late in the Hallstatt period (second half of the fifth century BC) and this work of art can be considered early La Tène.

Beyond the world of Classical hybrids filtered into the Hallstatt area, is there a case to be made for indigenous hybrids? Ceramic figurines of humans sometimes have crude faces with bird-like features, for example, the fragment from Süttő, Hungary (Horváth 1969), or the rider from Langenlebern, Austria (Preinfalk 2003). It is difficult to tell how far the beak is an artefact of using clay as crafting material (see also Section 6.3.1) or a deliberate attempt to produce a bird face. The combination of person and water bird has indeed a long pedigree in central Europe and can be traced far into the Bronze Age (e.g., Reich 2005). In the late Bronze Age, water birds became popular motifs of bronze decoration. Combined with boats, wagons and the sun, they tell the myth of the recurrent rising and setting of the sun. The fragment of a bronze figurine from Griže-Šešče, Slovenia (Teržan 1990: 453, pl. 77, fig. 1), combines the human head and neck

with arms in the shape of birds. It is one of the prime examples of the syncretism of the Hallstatt world in which Bronze Age elements are combined with the idea of hybridisation to create new beings.

A number of anthropomorphic bronze plaques brought together by Markus Egg, with arms and hands in the form of horse heads, have been found as votives in Alpine sanctuaries, for example, Mechel and Sanzeno, Italy, and as a stray find from Switzerland (Egg 1986a). Cut-outs from Terlago, Italy (Marzatico 2001: 539, Fig. 62.8), and Ampass-Demlfeld, Austria (Figure 6.5, Tomedi 2009: 273, fig. 2), as well as the female-headed pectoral from Ulaka, Slovenia (Starè 1970: 17), also feature horse heads, in the latter case reduced to a small ornament. The association of female and horse-specific material culture has a long, possibly pan-European pedigree. Its origins can be traced in the late Bronze Age hoards of southeast and northern Europe (Metzner-Nebelsick and Nebelsick 1999), before horse-shaped *fibulae* become a typical item in sanctuaries and high-status late Hallstatt/early La Tène graves (Metzner-Nebelsick 2007). The combination of female and horse features has been interpreted in terms of a 'mistress of the horses', and an identification with the Venetian goddess Reitia seems thinkable.

The representation of beings that are not found in reality, but composed of elements that are, seems to be rooted in two different ideas. These ideas are also embodied in the way the fragmentation and re-assemblage is executed in the representation; human body parts are joined to animal parts in different ways in the Hallstatt world. One is the destruction of the natural order and the subsequent birth of a different, perverted, transformed kind of reality from the fragments. Although some dividing lines are clearly derived from prototypes, there is considerable variability in the re-composition of the parts, frequently with a change of perspective. This expresses that the formulae of re-composition are not fixed, but express a certain fluidity and ambiguity, even chaos, perhaps in contrast to the more formalised and defined nature of (later) Classical hybrids such as centaurs, sphinxes and sirens. Hallstatt hybrids are also more often male rather than female.

Such hybrids of the Hallstatt otherworld are dark creatures. Depictions are exclusively found on objects found in graves, and particularly with the material culture of war (helmets, daggers) and banqueting. In association with their Mediterranean relatives, the realm these hybrids roam in can be associated with death and the horrors of the afterlife. Hybrids with human elements are hunting and being hunted – it is a dog-eat-dog world that is being displayed. The hybrids may thus symbolise the transition between life and death, rather than transcending and overcoming the boundaries between the different realms, as has been suggested for medieval Scandinavia (cf. Kristoffersen 2010: 265).

Other hybrids, particularly those of the human–bird and human–horse mergers, seem to be joined more seamlessly. Their connotation is different. They seem to bring together and integrate different qualities of the elements that are combined, such as adding the power and strength of a horse to a human to create a super-human but still anthropomorphic god-like creature. Objects embodying these kinds of hybrids are found in ritual contexts. The reference to the sun-bird, for example, points to the integration of (late Bronze Age) religious ideas about the sun, death and re-birth.

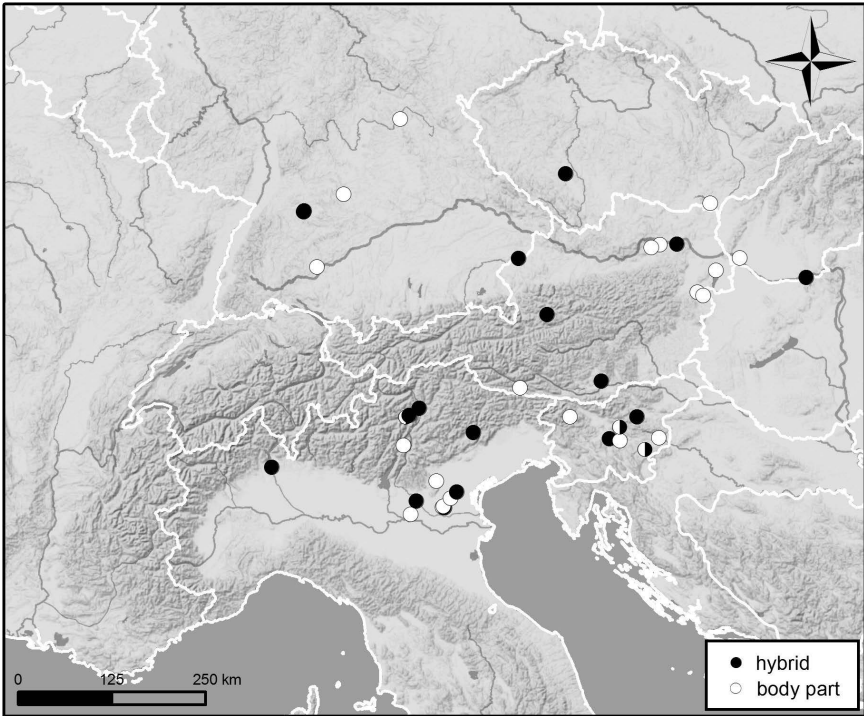


Figure 7.5 Body parts and hybrids in the Hallstatt area

7.4 Nudity, sex and gender

The difference between females and males in burial practices and representations has already featured large in this book, as sex and gender are amongst the most fundamental social categories of personal identity in the central European early Iron Age. The difference between sex and gender has been introduced in Section 2.1.3. Humans, having evolved a bi-part reproductive system, are born with either female or male genitalia (vulva or penis/scrotum). These primary sexual characteristics may be part of human representations if the person is depicted in the nude. Among the secondary sexual characteristics, breasts and beards, for example, which develop due to hormonal changes during puberty, may be added to representations to indicate sex. A significant proportion of bodies in the early Iron Age was represented naked and/or with clearly visible sexual parts. Intersex persons have both male and female sexual characteristics, normally based on a chromosome divergence from the standard XX for women and XY for men. Androgynous people appear partly female and male and are of indeterminate sex. The early Iron Age image world captured people as both sexed and sex-less bodies, providing insights into early Iron Age thinking about sexuality and reproduction.

Based on these biological characteristics are gendered appearance and practice. Gender categories were confirmed and elaborated by hairstyle, dress and accessories, as well as gendered activities, giving rise to feminine or masculine bodies. It is possible to tell clothed men and women apart in many representations based on gender-specific dress, objects and activities. The gender classification by a modern onlooker must, however, be carried out with caution. Situla Art, for example, provides us with examples of men and women shown with sexual parts, engaged in sexual activities, and yet wearing the gender-typical clothes known from other representations (for example, the beltplate from Brezje, Slovenia, Plate 12, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 32). In these instances it is legitimate to read, learn and transfer the gendering principles of clothing to other representations. Other images, first of all the northeast Hallstatt images sketched on pottery, are less easy to read. For a considerable number of images, it is not even possible to determine whether people were represented naked or clothed; some only wear a belt as a symbol of their status.

The sex of human representations refers to visible sexual characteristics. This includes $n = 290$ (9 per cent) male representations characterised by a penis and $n = 85$ (3 per cent) female representations characterised by vulva, breasts or shown during sexual intercourse. One person from Turska kosa, Croatia (Balen-Letunić 2004: 337 Number 21), has both female and male sexual parts: a protruding breast, penis and scrotum. A similar intersex bronze figurine from Gutenberg near Balzers, Liechtenstein, was not included here as it seems to date to the late Iron Age (Cain and Rieckhoff 2002: 33, fig. 1). In addition, 71 (3 per cent) of persons are described as sexless. This category applies when the persons are rendered naked and in enough detail to show their sex, but sex characteristics were deliberately omitted. For the most part, sexless figures can only be recognized in context with similar, sexed figures of the same style.

The gender classification of early Iron Age human representations for this book includes sexual characteristics and supplements this data with indications of a person's gender by dress and attributes. There were no contradictions between sex and gender established this way. Of 3148 human representations, 391 (12 per cent) were classified as female, 1215 (39 per cent) as male and 50 (2 per cent) remained androgynous or sexless.

Data on nudity, sex and gender are summarised in Fig. 7.6. For about half the representations it is possible to determine whether they are represented naked or dressed; 39 per cent are clothed and 15 per cent naked. Other anthropomorphic

	<i>all</i>	<i>female (gender)</i>	<i>male (gender)</i>	<i>sexless/ androgynous</i>
belt only	35 (1%)	10 (3%)	22 (2%)	2 (4%)
dressed	1137 (36%)	240 (61%)	667 (55%)	
dressed?	88 (3%)		18 (1%)	
naked	439 (14 %)	85 (22%)	300 (25%)	48 (96%)
naked?	22 (1 %)	1 (0%)	18 (1%)	
not clear	1427 (45%)	56 (14%)	190 (16%)	
total	3148 (100%)	391 (100%)	1215 (100%)	50 (100%)

Figure 7.6 Nudity, sex and gender of human representations

figures are too schematic to tell if they wore clothes or not. A minority is nude except for a belt (35, just 1 per cent). Females appear a little more frequently in dress than men; only 22 per cent of women are depicted naked, compared to 26 per cent of men. Both sexless and androgynous persons are naked – a prerequisite for their identification. On most sites, representations of both dressed and naked people were found. In Fig. 7.7, sites are mapped according to the percentage of dressed and naked people. On 84 sites, the majority of represented people are dressed; on 49 sites the majority is naked. Sites with a high prevalence of nudity are distributed all over the study region, but cluster in France and south-western Germany, Slovakia and Hungary, as well as southern and eastern Croatia.

Nudity is a common, but not predominant, feature of early Iron Age human representations. There are four primary explanations for why some people were represented naked. First and most obvious, nudity was associated with sex. Men engaged in sexual activities are naked or wear only a belt; women, by contrast, are still shown with their headscarves, naked only below the waistline. Second, nudity can have a ritual meaning. Representations of the naked body are frequently found in ritual contexts such as sanctuaries, most concretely on ritual objects like the Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a), or organ votives (for example, Este, Italy, Ruta Serafini 2002). Third, nudity is associated with athletic competitions, hunts and wars. Dumb-bell fighters are, for example, always depicted

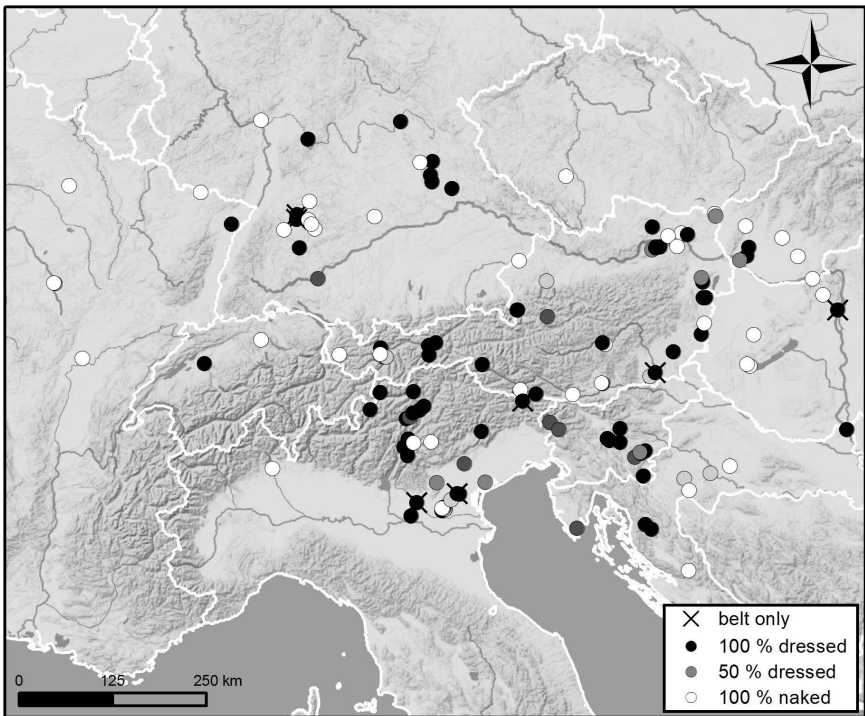


Figure 7.7 Sites according to the percentage of dressed and naked human representations

naked. The image on the *situla* in Providence (Figs 7.8 and 7.9 Lucke and Frey 1962) reveals that nudity was situational. The sportsmen are normal participants in the feast, but their clothes were taken off immediately before the fight. These are then placed between the legs of the contestants, neatly folded and covered by a beret-shaped hat. The dumb-bell fighters still wear their belts; although in the context of the specific sporting event the belt may have other meanings (Rebay-Salisbury 2012b: 191), it is an indicator of high status in early Iron Age central Europe. Last, captives and slaves are shown naked, for example, on the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), or Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: 65). On the latter, the naked person in shackles still wears his belt, perhaps an indication of his status and superior value as a captive.

In the contexts of athletic competitions, hunts and wars, the naked male stresses virility and strength. The erect penis of the male warrior, as, for instance, known from the stamps on the lids of Kleinklein, Austria (Prüssing 1991: 350–351), may also be transferred to his horse (e.g., Frög, Austria, Tomedi 2002), if the constraints of the mode of representation do not allow for a direct depiction. Vulvae and breasts of the naked female body are likely to stress the reproductive ability of women, in contrast to sexless depictions.

Figure 7.10 summarises observations on sex and gender of early Iron Age human representations, of which 447 (14 per cent) indicate sex; they are either shown with male or female sexual parts, with both or with a distinct lack of sexual characteristics. Male representations clearly outnumber female ones (65 per cent to 21 per cent), but the sexless representations are also not rare, at 14 per cent. For a little over half of all representation (1656, 53 per cent), gender could be established. Male representations prevail again with 73 per cent, 24 per cent are most likely female and 3 per cent sexless. In short, about every fourth person in early Iron Age imagery is female.

Traditionally, gender roles are discussed along the lines of male and female as binary oppositions, because most of the evidence comes from graves, where we find anthropological data for both sexes, and also because today's society is



Figure 7.8 Situational nudity: dumb-bell fighters, having just taken off their clothes before the contest on the *situla* in Providence (after Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1)

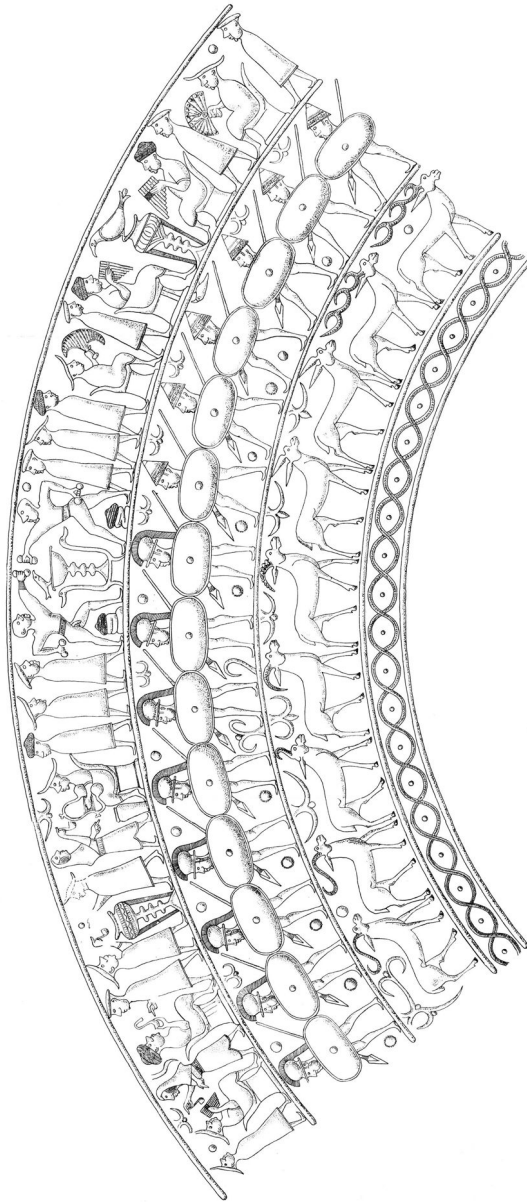


Figure 7.9 *Situla* in Providence (after Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1)

structured along those lines. And indeed, a binary understanding of gender is portrayed in some human representations, for instance, in bronze pendants from graves in Switzerland and southern Germany, where male and female bodies are represented together. In Esslingen, Germany (Zürn 1987: 66, pl. 79.34), a naked

	Sex			Gender		
	<i>n</i> = 447	% of total	% of <i>n</i>	<i>n</i> = 1656	% of total	% of <i>n</i>
female	93	3%	21%	274	9%	17%
female?				117	4%	7%
male	290	9%	65%	1164	37%	70%
male?				51	1.5%	3 %
sexless	63	2%	14%	49	1.5%	3 %
androgynous	1	0%	0%	1	0%	0 %
no sex	2701	86%	no gender	1492	47%	
total	3148					

Figure 7.10 Sex and gender of human representations

male and female figure are joined back to back; their heads connect to a bronze ring on which the pendant was hung up. A set of one male and one female pendant, with one ring each, was found in Unterlunkhofen, Switzerland (Schmid-Sikimić 1996: pl. 101.4 and 5), and Stuttgart-Uhlbach, Germany (Huth 2003: pl. 21). Not all human representations can be ascribed clearly to one sex or the other, although they appear to be naked and not clothed. In such cases, they are often either regarded as female (classified by the absence of male reproductive parts) or not further interpreted. I argue, in contrast, that the notion of gender in the early Iron Age in central Europe has to be expanded to include sexless representations.

Sets of figurines, which include depictions of humans in the same style, but with different reproductive parts or their absence, are most intriguing. One such set of ceramic figurines was discovered in Gemeinlebarn, Austria (Plate 10, Kromer 1958), and another at Langenlebarn, Austria (Preinfalk 2003). The sites are located only about 20 kilometres apart along the Danube and include remarkable parallels in the construction of the burial space and the ceramic grave goods. At Gemeinlebarn, a set of at least 14 human figurines as well as a few animals were discovered in the chamber. Traces of resin on the legs and feet suggest they were fixed to an object, perhaps a wagon of organic material or a large conical vessel. Some of the figurines are clearly portrayed as females, with one breast painted and the other in a plastic medium, but other figurines are more ambiguous; most are too fragmented to be absolutely certain of the absence of sexual features. At Langenlebarn, the figurine set consists of at least seven human figurines. This time, some figurines are clearly depicted with male sexual parts, whereas others appear sexless. The size and body proportions of these sexless figurines are those of adults, although the neck seems particularly long and over-emphasised.

The Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a: 6), includes very similar figurines in bronze. It was found in 1851 in a monumental tumulus with a *dromos* that included several cremated individuals, as well as exceptional drinking and feasting equipment, and was recently re-excavated (Tiefengraber and Tiefengraber 2014). The central figurine of the Cult Wagon is a nude female individual

with broad belt and earrings. This central figurine, which balances a vessel on her head with her hands, is twice as tall as the rest of the figurines on the wagon, which are arranged as a mirror image scene in the front and back with six persons each. The scene depicts the sacrifice of a stag. Two nude figurines without any sex indication hold a stag by the antlers, followed by a woman and a man with a raised axe to strike the animal from the back. The figures are flanked by two mounted warriors. Again, there is a clear distinction between male, female and sexless figurines.

Sexless figurines dominate also in the ritual context of Turska kosa, Croatia (Balen-Letunić 2004), whereas similar figures, such as the figurine from Schirn-dorf, Germany (Stroh 2000a: pl. 9.1), or Ilsfeld, Germany (Echt 1999: 87), are more difficult to read due to the absence of contrasting, clearly sexed figures.

The representation of these sexless human representations can be read in a number of ways. One interpretation would be that for the performance of certain tasks gender was not a relevant category and therefore not depicted. However, because gender was usually marked out very clearly through burial rites and in depictions, this explanation seems unlikely. More likely, the conceptualisations of social roles allowed for other categories and were not exclusively based on difference between two sexes. The highlighted difference between the sexed body with reproductive parts and the sexless body may hint at the existence of social

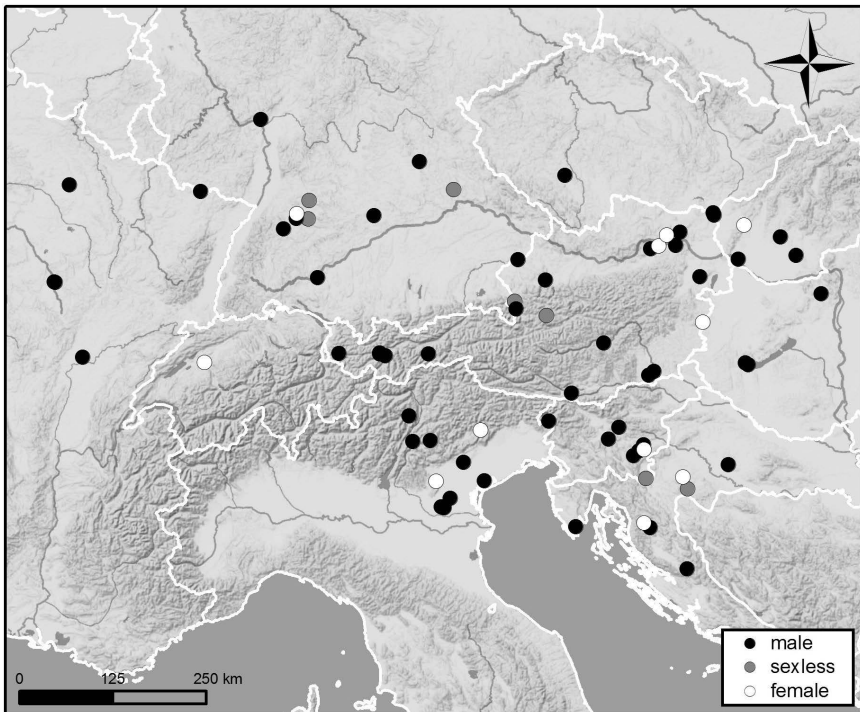


Figure 7.11 Distribution of sites in terms of the prevailing sex

groups for which sexuality and therefore reproductive abilities were either of no importance or actively restricted.

Many pre-modern societies such as the Assyrian, Persian, Chinese, Byzantine and Islamic worlds had eunuchs (Tougher 2002). These castrated males have a special gender status and are normally destined for particular roles in a court society, for example, in the position of a treasurer or in a harem; the inability to have biological children removed them from family responsibilities and succession. This made them safe, high-ranking servants to the rulers or particular candidates for ritual and religious careers. Certainly a metaphorical castration or the deliberate abstinence from sexuality and reproduction without genital mutilation is a further possibility, which in some societies is held as a virtue.

The sexless bodies of the early Iron Age may be a hint that reproduction was socially regulated and restricted to a defined group of people within a society, for instance, those who could afford their own household. Farmhands, maids and domestic servants in post-medieval central Europe, for instance, frequently found themselves in a position where they could not marry and have (legitimate) children. Alliances amongst them were certainly no rarities, but it depended largely on the generosity of their masters whether pregnancies or children would be

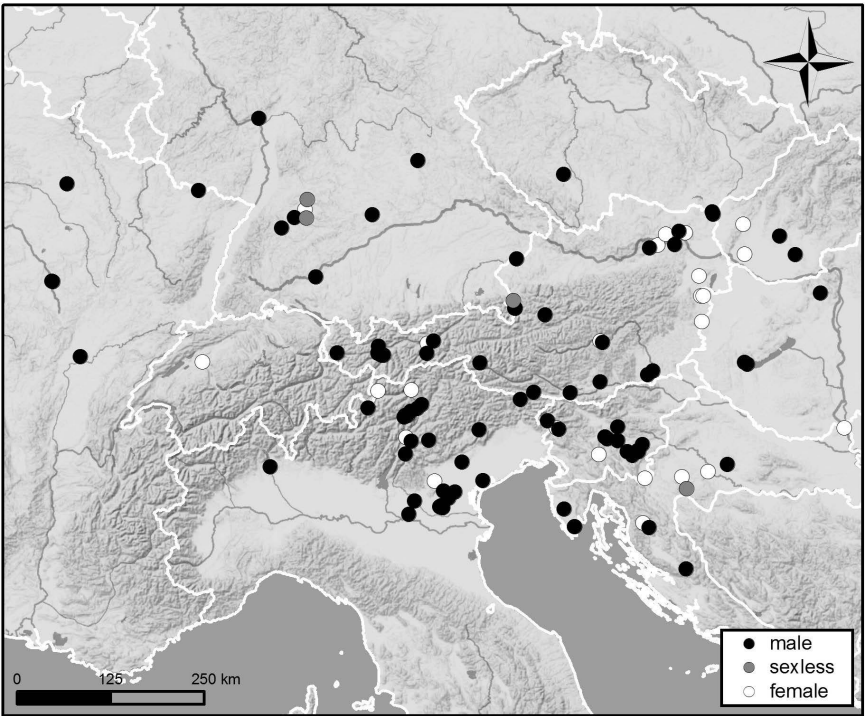


Figure 7.12 Distribution of sites in terms of the prevailing gender

accepted; women were dismissed from service, pregnancies hidden and infants killed (Weber 1985). Children of unmarried parents had a low social status and were the coming generation of servants. Such reproductive restrictions are also attested in Celtic written sources (Karl 2006: 88) and will be further discussed in Section 7.7. By such reproductive restrictions, the social system was reproduced. Individuals were only small pieces in the jigsaw (Stevens 1999).

Male human representations outnumber female ones by about four to one, a little less with naked people, a little more with clothed people. Sexed male representations prevail at 58 sites (Fig. 7.11). Only at 11 sites do the females shown with sexual parts outnumber sites with male human representation of the same kind. Sexless representations in the majority occur on seven sites. Mapping sites in terms of the prevailing sex reveals that the geographical distribution of these differences is not particularly significant.

Mapping sites in terms of the prevailing gender (Fig. 7.12) puts more data points on the map, most of which are male. The 26 sites with gendered representations of women in the majority are still vastly outnumbered by the 92 male-dominant sites. Nevertheless, a small cluster of sites with female representations in the majority emerges in the northeastern Hallstatt area. A few data points appear in the Alps as well as Slovenia and Croatia. Turska kosa in Croatia remains the only site with a significant number of sexless representations.

7.5 Sexuality

Human sexuality goes much beyond the biological necessity of reproduction. It is intertwined with culture (Taylor 1996: 4), and therefore representations of sexuality reflect specific cultural meanings. Sexuality is often not only connected to individual reproduction, but also the reproduction of social order (Stevens 1999). Other than in archaic and classic Greece or Etruria (cf. Harris et al. 2013a, Stoddart 2009), where depictions of explicit sexuality are largely restricted to prostitution, the depictions of sexual acts serve different means in early Iron Age central Europe; they seem to refer to establishing lineages of biological relatedness and power. Further, much of the actual sex life in a person's lifetime has nothing to do with reproduction; sex might be an act of bodily pleasure or, conversely, dominance and control.

Heterosexual encounters have been captured in *Situla Art* several times. The widest variety of sexual positions is shown on the bottom frieze of the *situla* of Pieve d'Alpago (Fig. 7.13, Gangemi 2013: Fig. 6.9). The frieze is divided into four scenes that can be read from right to left. The first scene shows three couples or, more likely, one couple depicted three times: first in embrace, then with the woman touching the man's face, and last, with the man opening the woman's veil with his erect penis signalling sexual desire. The woman's hand gestures are ambiguous: one hand touches his coat folded back over the shoulder, whereas the other one is stretched out as to refuse his advances. In this scene, both partners are dressed; the woman with tunic and veil, the man with tunic or cloak and a beret-shaped hat. The next scene seems to be taking place indoors; the man appears

fully naked and has taken his hat off, whereas the woman remains dressed. The couple makes love in standing position face to face, with the woman seated on a throne, and in a standing position from the back. Bystanders include a woman holding an axe, a woman holding the seat of the throne, a woman sitting on a throne and another, smaller woman slightly elevated behind the back of the man in the last sexual encounter. The next scene is familiar from other pieces of Situla Art – a man and woman having sex in missionary position on the mattress of a bed. This, in contrast to depictions known from the Classical world (cf. Bonfante 1999), is the most commonly shown sexual position in the Hallstatt area. The last scene on the *situla* of Pieve d'Alpago is concerned with the consequences of sex: it shows a woman giving birth, assisted by two women acting as midwives (more in Section 7.7.1).

The missionary position is also found on the image from Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1996: pl. 11, fig. 6), where only the feet facing each other are preserved. The images from Montebelluna, Italy (Fig. 7.14, Bianchin Citton in prep, Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 6), Sanzeno, Italy (Fig. 7.14, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 67), Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Slovenia (Križ 1997b: app. 4) and Castelvetro, Italy, just south of the River Po (Fig. 7.18, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 21), show the women lying on their back, with raised legs; they are wearing a veil and sometimes earrings; only the bottom half of the body is naked. The men are depicted without headgear, with bald heads and naked except perhaps for a belt or an upper arm ring. The erect penis, scrotum and pubic hair are clearly shown where preserved. The couples seem to be embracing, but nothing in their facial expression, where preserved, indicates emotion of any sort. The images on the belt plate of Brezje, Slovenia (Plate 12, Turk 2005: 56, fig. 83), are slightly different in that they show a mirror image of a woman seated on a throne, dressed with earrings, a veil and a raised skirt or dress. Her pubic hair is clearly indicated. Her legs rest on the shoulders of the man kneeling in front of her; her ankles are adorned by rings. Clearly, she is depicted as a member of the ruling elite. The man penetrating her is kneeling in front of her and is, in contrast to most other images, dressed. He is wearing a simple tunic with beret-shaped hat and looks away from the woman. The heavily repaired and altered piece depicts a large metal vessel between the couples, evoking images of feasting and sporting competitions.

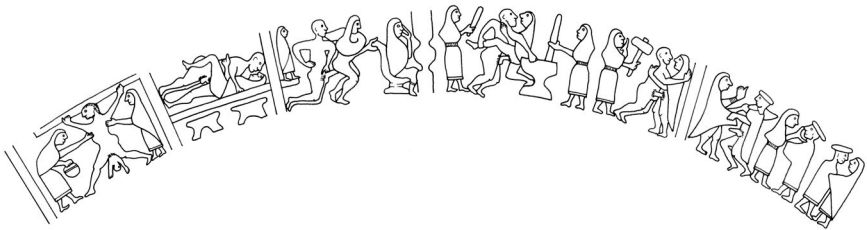


Figure 7.13 Courtship, sex and birth on the *situla* from Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (after Frigo 2013)

It is interesting to note that sex scenes occur on two belt plates (Brezje, Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva), two cists (Montebelluna, Sanzeno), three *situlae* (Nesactium, Montebelluna, Pieve d'Alpago) and one bronze mirror (Castelvetro). One fragment of the *situla* of Welzelach, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 60), shows a leg held horizontally over a bronze vessel held by a hand; although this scene is commonly referred to as foot washing, in the light of the new finds, an interpretation in terms of a sex scene seems equally possible.

The two cists and the *situla* of Montebelluna also bear images of ploughing, which suggests a thematic link with ideas about fertility and procreation (Eibner 1997: 138). Although not on the same bronze vessel, images of ploughing were also found twice at Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992: app. 2, Mihovilić 1996: pl. 11, fig. 10), and once on the *situla* from Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64).

Depictions of heterosexual encounters are much closer to the Etruscan than to the Greek image world, but retain their unique characteristics (Bonfante 2003b). Sex as depicted in early Iron Age imagery is not an issue of privacy. We find sex scenes embedded in feasting scenes, with bystanders either offering drinks or watching the scene. As a public act, sex is of importance for the social order. In fact, witnessing sex may be of utmost importance. *Mater semper certa est, pater numquam* – the mother is always certain, the father never – unless paternity is ensured by witnesses to the act of procreation. The importance of making sure who the father is may point to a patrilineal definition of kinship in the early Iron Age, in which biological relationship through the male line is emphasised.

At the same time, the women were by no means unimportant. The thrones shown on the sex scene from Brezje (Plate 12, Barth 1999) and Pieve d'Alpago (Gangemi 2013) characterise the women as being of exceptionally high status, perhaps even as goddesses, queens, heroines or priestesses (Eibner 2001: 128). The women in the sex scenes have been suggested to have a crucial role in the transfer of power from one generation to the next and in social reproduction, as daughters or widows of the previous ruler (Teržan 2001a, Teržan 2001b, Turk 2005: 30–31). The image from the mirror of Castelvetro frames the sex scene with two other human encounters that easily fit into the story: men and women gesticulating (see Section 7.9.2), perhaps negotiating the terms of marriage. The



Figure 7.14 Witnessing a sexual union at Sanzeno and Montebelluna, Italy (after Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 67, 68 and Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 6)

three well-trained horses may well be part of the dowry. Marriage, defined here as the socially sanctioned unity of man and woman in which reproduction took place, might have been a prerequisite for sex.

The recently discovered *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), seems to depict the festivities on the occasion of a marriage. In the top frieze, a procession of horsemen, a chariot and two wagons travel to the feast. The scene is special in two respects: first, the passenger standing on the chariot behind the driver is a woman, and second, the last wagon with three seated persons drags a naked man in shackles behind them. The woman travelling may well be the bride and the naked man a slave, representing her dowry or a captive to exchange. The middle frieze of the *situla* depicts a feast with sporting competition. The different teams supporting the competitors are characterised by different headgear. The sexual union between the newlyweds takes place right next to the feast. On the other side of the bed, two women stand opposite each other spinning. The subtle differences in their dress may again articulate individuals of different groups: perhaps they can even be interpreted as bride and mother-in-law spinning together. Such an admittedly rather liberal reading of the depicted scenes would point to a patrilocal family residence, in which the bride marries into the groom's family and resides with them.

Homosexuality is nowhere directly depicted in early Iron Age imagery. Contemporary cultures in Antiquity, the Greeks and Scythians practiced forms of homosexuality, but it is debatable to what extent they can be understood in the same way as modern conceptualisations of homosexuality. Lasting friendships between males were crucial in the construction of regional networks in Antiquity. They imply mutual help and protection and may range from emotional to affectionate and even passionate. Scythians, for example, confirmed their friendship through the ritual of drinking from a common vessel, a scene nicely captured in a golden plaque from the Kul-Oba kurgan, Ukraine, dating to the fourth century BC (Menghin et al. 2007).

The facets of Greek homosexuality have been discussed extensively (Davidson 2007, Dover 1978, Keuls 1993, Patzer 1982). In particular pederasty – the affection between men and youths has given rise to much speculation. Most likely, the relationship between the lover and beloved involved courtship, initiation to male ways of living and occasionally homosexual practices. To which extent they were socially sanctioned changed from time to time. Eva Keuls argued that pederasty was distinct from homoerotic relations and part of the construction of masculinity (Keuls 1993: 274–299), whereas homosexuality between two adults was not approved. James Davidson (Davidson 2007) coined the term 'homobesottedness' for the passion for and a strong interest in younger men. This relationship had an educational aspect, in particular with regard to hunting. A few ancient sources hint that pederasty was also common practice amongst the Celts (Bremmer 1980, Dynes and Donaldson 1992). Aristotle, who lived from 384 to 322 BC, hinted in his *Politics* (II, 9)¹ that Celts approved of male lovers, and so did Athenaeus of Naucratis (second/third centuries AD) in his *Deipnosophists* (XIII, 79).²

The theme of pederasty is taken up many times in Greek mythology, for example, by the relationship between Zeus and Ganymede, and expressed in iconography. A black-figure vase painting from c. 530 BC, for example, shows Ganymede with a cockerel (Boardman 1974: 217). Small animals were commonly depicted in such scenes of love and courtship; they represent love gifts, which were offered and could either be accepted or rejected. Most common were cockerels and hares, but deer, foxes or waterfowl were also gifted (Koch-Harnack 1983).

The Greek cultural background as described earlier is perhaps the clue to understanding the relationship between a man and a boy as depicted on the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (Fig. 7.15, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75, Nebelhay 1993). There are two images of smaller persons, one standing behind a seated person enjoying a drink, and one standing opposite a man with a raised, overlong index finger, perhaps a way of expressing teaching the boy a lesson. A cockerel is shown behind the boy. The scenes are unusual in many ways – size differences are not normally a topic of *Situla* Art, and in particular children are usually not represented. The size difference may be used to define a difference in age, but also status difference or difference in knowledge. This again would be the topic of the teaching or initiation scene. The transition from one life stage to the other, or perhaps initiation and the transferral of the power of rulership, seems to be the topic of the scenes depicted on the *situla* from Kuffern. The domestic chicken at the time is still a rarity in the archaeological record (Rebay 2006: 190) and most likely represents a precious gift. Conversely, it may just be employed to symbolise fighting (Eibner 2012a: 54), as a chariot race takes place in the next scene. The similarity between these motifs and Greek depictions of pederasty are nevertheless striking. Translated into *situla* style, the scene preserved the formal frame of the friendship between man and boy known from the Greek cultural context. It remains unclear, however, whether the content was fully understood.



Figure 7.15 Man, boy and cockerel on the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (after Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), and Zeus seizing Ganymede on a red-figure kylix, c. 475 BC–425 BC (© Museo Archaeologico Nazionale di Spina, Ferrara, Italy, Ferrara T212BVP, Beazley Archive Number: 211576)

7.6 Age, ageing and stages of life

Every person's life begins with pregnancy and birth. As a lived experience, they consciously affect the mothers most and are therefore discussed in the course of the female lifecycle. For children, the most dangerous day was and is the day on which they are born. Neonatal and childhood mortality is generally assumed to be 40 to 50 per cent in prehistoric societies (Burmeister and Gebühr in press). Premature birth, birth complications and infections are the most common causes of perinatal mortality today (Save the Children 2013); the highest under-five mortality rate with 185 deaths per 1000 live births is presently documented in Sierra Leone. Childhood mortality strongly correlates with the social status of women.

Stefan Burmeister reconstructed a mortality rate for infants between 0 and 5 years of age of 43.4 ± 4.1 per cent on the basis of late Hallstatt cemetery demographics from southern Germany (Burmeister 2000: 85). Thirty to forty per cent of this age group are missing in the cemetery record. Although such young children are sometimes buried without gendered objects, it seems that babies with a female inventory are slightly more often represented than those with male inventories, which indicates a sex difference in mortality and/or burial practices. Keeping children alive during their first years was probably difficult enough. The deliberate killing of babies, infanticide (Krauß 1998), may have happened too, but it is analytically very difficult to differentiate victims of infanticide from babies who died naturally in the perinatal period.

Newborns were often buried outside the classic cemeteries in settlement contexts. A survey of early Iron Age settlement burials in Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria (Müller-Scheeßel et al. 2013) revealed that a quarter of all buried individuals were under one year old, with other sub-adult age groups also being represented in other quantities than demographically expected. Late Iron Age evidence (c. 380–250 BC) from the Ramsautal settlement of the Dürrenberg near Hallein, Austria (Karl and Löcker 2011), led to particularly interesting insights. Eleven baby burials were recovered in the context of building features, in the entrance areas, along the building axis, below the floor layers, between house and drainage ditches or within the drainage ditches. No features were specifically dug for the internment of the skeletons, but the babies were deposited during the construction of the buildings. Their deposition in these liminal spaces of the settlement may be interpreted to mirror the liminal state of their lives, between physical birth and social integration into society. The integration of baby burials in settlements is common in both the early Iron Age (e.g. Heuneburg, Germany, Wahl 1995) and the late Iron Age (e.g. Pichler et al. 2012, Ramsel 2010) and seems to represent a wider social phenomenon.

Early childrearing practices contribute greatly to the survival of children. In the first year(s) after birth, babies stay intimately connected to their mothers and other carers by their utter dependency – they need to be fed, kept warm and held almost constantly. Breastfeeding is the most natural way to feed a baby, but cultural attitudes to breastfeeding and beliefs about the effects of breast milk vary widely. Breastfeeding avoids contaminated substitute food and enhances the

babies' immune system by transmission of maternal antibodies; the age of weaning is thus associated with a peak in childhood mortality in past societies. The duration of breastfeeding and the age of weaning have only recently emerged as fields of archaeological inquiry, and can best be assessed by a combination of palaeo-anthropological methods such as studying the chronological distribution of enamel hypoplasias and isotope studies (e.g. Bourbou et al. 2013, Eriksson 2013, Herring, Saunders and Katzenberg 1998, Howcroft 2013). Infants who are breast-fed exclusively appear enriched in $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ (nitrogen), as their position in the food chain is above their mothers. $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (oxygen) helps to differentiate breast milk from drinking water as the main fluid intake.

So far, there are no specific studies on infant feeding practices of the central European Iron Age. Isotopic studies on mobility and diet of the Magdalenenberg, Germany, acknowledged specific effects from breastfeeding, but did not specifically study the practice (Oelze et al. 2012). A study of individuals from Wetwang Slack, Britain (Jay et al. 2008), an Iron Age site dating from the fourth to the second centuries BC suggested restricted levels of breastfeeding and supplementation of the diet by animal milk and/or plant gruel early on, before children ate the same diet as adults by about 2.5 years of age. Evidence from Iron Age Sweden (Howcroft, Eriksson and Lidén 2012) revealed a complex pattern of breastfeeding and introducing weaning food, which suggested infant feeding practices did not follow a uniform cultural norm, but depended on social status, gender and individual feeding decisions. The high variability of infant feeding practices calls for more studies of specific burial populations to better understand mother-child relations in the Iron Age, of which breastfeeding is an important component.

Feeding vessels, small vessels with a spout, are common finds in late Bronze Age central Europe (Eibner 1973) and also occur in early Iron Age graves. They have been associated with infant feeding, and may indicate that animal milk was substituted for mother's milk, milk from another woman was used or other foodstuff was introduced. For young infants, this carries a high risk of contamination as well as the possibility that unsuitable food was used, leading to a higher risk of death. During the course of the Hallstatt period, however, vessels with spouts in animal form develop into monumental funerary vessels more closely associated with high-status males. They have been interpreted in terms of a libation ritual (Nebelsick 1997). Miniature vessels – smaller forms of the usual types – are also common finds in children's graves (e.g., Hadersdorf, Austria, Wewerka 1998: 275). Toys such as rattles are also found, sometimes shaped as balls, sometimes in animal form. They do, however, also occur in those of adults, which is why they are sometimes interpreted in terms of ritual objects or musical instruments (Kaus 1971). It seems that child-typical material culture is deposited in the graves, but it is not exclusive to children.

Early childrearing is not only incredibly labour intensive, it frequently involves a number of people other than the mother, particularly if the mother died, was absent or her workforce was indispensable for society. Early childrearing involves practices such as carrying and swaddling, for which there is early Iron Age evidence. Babies were even carried into the salt mines of Hallstatt, Austria, as demonstrated by a fur cap that could only have fitted a three- to six-month-old

(Pany-Kucera, Reschreiter and Kern 2010: 55). So far, however, no baby slings or specific baby-carrying devices have been found. Swaddling babies (Frenken 2011) is another piece in the jigsaw of childrearing practices that seems to have a long pedigree in Europe. Swaddling has made a recent comeback as it seems to calm newborns by mimicking a warm and enclosed space quite like the mother's womb. Greeks and Romans swaddled their babies, in part as they believed that babies were not finished and their bodies had to be correctly moulded (Graham 2013). Babies were swaddled after the first post-natal bath and 'unpacked' after 40 to 60 days. The right hand was unpacked first to improve the motor development of the right side and ensure right-handedness (Wirth 2010a: 214).

Images of swaddled babies thus almost certainly refer to newborns and very young babies. Votives in the form of swaddled babies were found in sanctuaries, for instance, in Hellenistic Italy (Graham 2014). A stone sculpture of a baby was unearthed at Nesactium, Croatia (Fischer 1984: pl. 8, fig. 1). Although it is badly preserved and the top part is missing, its placing across the chest and in the arms of the sculpture of a birthing woman favours the interpretation. It appears like a bundle rather than an anatomically shaped infant. Cist XIII from Kleinklein (Fig. 7.16, Schmid 1933: pl. 1c), which is decorated with human shapes in point-boss technique, may include the images of three swaddled babies. The upper parts of their bodies include circles indicating the head and arms stretched out to the side and bent up; the fingers point upwards in the typical orant gesture. The lower part of the body, in contrast, is shaped like a rectangular bundle and not further elaborated; the proportions fit a baby much better than an adult. Interpretations of these three persons have ranged from swaddled babies to the appearance of a god (Eibner 1993) – notions that do not need to be contradictory, as the image may well intend to show the birth of a deity.

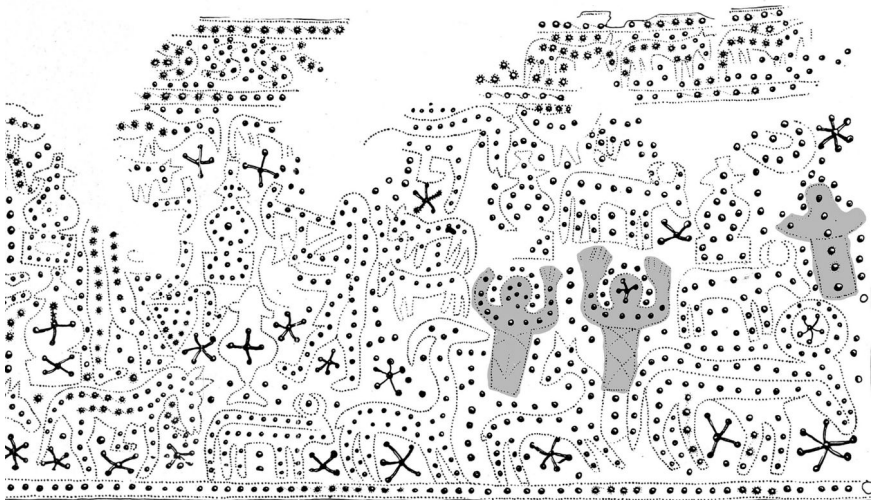


Figure 7.16 Swaddled babies (?) on Cist XIII from Kleinklein, Austria (after Schmid 1933: pl. 1c)

The social concept of a ‘middle childhood’ has recently been proposed for Neolithic societies (Bickle and Fibiger 2014). Biologically, it is the period from about the age of six or seven, when the first permanent teeth erupt, until the onset of puberty. When puberty occurred is by no means certain for the early Iron Age, and it is a process rather than a fixed point in time. One marker is the age of menarche for girls, which has dropped considerably in modern times due to better nutrition and living conditions (Thomas et al. 2001). An educated guess for the Iron Age would place menarche between 12 and 16 years of age, perhaps rather at the latter end of the spectrum. The reproductive years for women begin about one to two years after menarche, as the first cycles are normally anovulatory.

During middle childhood, children were first recognised socially and began to learn and engage in gender-specific activities. Images of children are almost totally absent in early Iron Age central Europe. It seems likely, therefore, that it was not a socially recognised period in life. Only a handful of scenes, including the one on the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (Fig. 7.17, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), depict smaller people with people of normal size. The boy at the wine racks behind the seated person is c. 60 per cent the size of the adults, which suggests a five- to six-year-old according to modern growth charts. The boy being taught is approximately 70 per cent the size of the adults, which corresponds roughly to a seven- to eight-year-old.

On the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Fig. 7.17, Bianchin Citton in prep), we again encounter a small boy standing behind a seated figure playing the flute. The similarity to the scene on the Kuffern *situla* is striking. The boy is only about half the size of the adults in the same scene, a three-year-old perhaps; two women carrying cists on their heads right behind the boy may represent his carers. Two small persons depicted on the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Fig. 7.17, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64, Zimmermann 2003), are likewise noteworthy. They are standing on the armrests of a sofa, on which a flute player and a lyre player are seated for a music competition; a *situla* hangs between them as a trophy. The small, naked persons are represented in the fashion of dumb-bell fighters, although they do not have the dumb-bells in hand. They may represent children practicing fist fighting, although their proportions rather resemble those of adults; perhaps they embody the competitive spirit. The only small person in woman’s dress observes the sexual scenes on the *situla* of Pieve d’Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013). At c. 66 per cent of the average adult’s height, her height corresponds to a five-year-old girl. Based on the elevated position, Giovanna Gangemi (2013: 284) suggests, that it is the representation of a divine statuette that embodies the presence of the supernatural and functions to consecrate the space in her presence.



Figure 7.17 Children at a feast, from Bologna-Certosa and Montebelluna, Italy, and Kuffern, Austria (after Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64, 75 and Bianchin in prep)

Children were integrated in the adult work life. Their presence in the salt mines of Hallstatt, Austria, has long been attested by finds of small-sized leather shoes in the mines. Only recently, palaeo-pathological evidence has shown that children were involved in the same work processes as adults. Symmetrical changes in the upper vertebrae of children indicate they carried heavy loads. Child skeletons from Hallstatt further show traces of trauma, which may be due to accidents, interpersonal violence and child abuse. The patterns of trauma are likely to stem from blows on the head (Pany-Kucera, Reschreiter and Kern 2010). Life as a child in the Hallstatt mining community does not sound like a blissful experience.

In the West Hallstatt area, children below the age of 10 are buried with female-typical grave goods, and only from the age between 10 and 15 do boys begin to be buried with male-typical grave goods; weapons and razors are reserved for adults (Burmeister 2000: 77, Lenerz-de Wilde 1989: 261). Children's dress frequently includes *fibulae* for boys and jewellery for girls; amulets and apotropaic pendants are typical for children's graves, but also occur in those of women (Pauli 1975). The reported burials of children with high-status grave goods from Mitterkirchen, Austria (Leskovar 2000), turned out to be those of adults after a modern anthropological re-analysis of the human remains, in particular the teeth (Schumann, Leskovar and Marschler 2015). Detailed analyses for other areas in regard to ages and stages from infancy to adulthood have not been attempted so far. Amongst the children's graves in the northeastern Hallstatt area are burials that are well equipped with pottery, including child-typical miniature forms, such as Grave 67 from Hadersdorf, Austria (Wewerka 1998). In the southeastern Hallstatt area, skeletal material is very badly preserved, and often children's graves cannot be distinguished from adults'. In general, it seems that children – at least from the age of cemetery inclusion – were treated after death and equipped in a similar way as adults, perhaps without status symbols (Schumann 2015: 295–303).

A distinct period of adolescence, after middle childhood but before adulthood, is neither apparent from the human imagery nor from the cemetery record. Inventories of graves from juvenile individuals are not dissimilar from those of adults. Adulthood seemed to have begun at the age of about 20 for both men and women, and from this age, the life experience differed markedly.

7.7 Femininity: of marriage and motherhood

Knowledge about early Iron Age gender relations, family structures and social organisation is still fairly limited. As discussed earlier (Section 7.3), bodies are represented in both sexed and sexless variants, suggesting that reproduction was at times emphasised and de-emphasised. Motherhood is often understood as universal; a natural and inevitable part of a woman's lifecycle, but it is as much a social as a biological phenomenon. Reproductive regulation (Taylor 2006) excluding individuals from having children might have taken place for subsets of society, or reproduction might have required a social and legal sanctioning in the form of marriage. Some individuals may even have had the choice to remain childless and control their own fertility.

Marriage is the social framework for the unity of man and woman in which reproduction took place; it most likely required a certain level of prosperity (Burmeister and Gebühr in press) and the means to found a household. Unmarried individuals may well have had children, but their provision and social position have been less secure. It is important to stress that marital unions for high-status individuals may well have included polygamy (cf. Karl 2006: 76). At Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria, for instance, it has been suspected that upon the death of the ruler, a concubine had to follow into the grave, whereas the main wife and mother of successors was spared (Egg and Kramer 2005: 18). The anthropological analysis of the cremated individuals in the grave could certify three adults and a juvenile individual, all of indeterminate sex (Grill and Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2013). Burials of multiple persons, however, have multiple causes; particularly in creation graves, it can ultimately not be decided if individuals died of natural causes or were killed prior to burial.

Marriage most likely began with a social ritual – a wedding. Although we have no direct evidence for such ceremonies, the depictions of sex scenes (discussed in Section 7.5) may represent just that. Particularly the scene from Castelvetro, Italy (Fig. 7.18, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 21), may be read as the negotiation of marriage followed by its confirmation by sexual intercourse.

A change of dress and appearance accompanied the change of social status for women as they got married at the age of around 20. At the same time, the probability of dying rises significantly (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005: 89). In the West Hallstatt area and beyond, girls from middle childhood to adulthood are frequently buried with colourful and materially diverse jewellery items made of glass, molluscs, corals, amber and gold, which are interpreted in terms of an apotropaic function. Colourful items cease to be worn at the end of the women's reproductive period; jet jewellery and earrings are never found in graves of women older than 40 (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005: 103). Around the age of 20, women tend to be buried with sets of pins rather than single items (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005: 101). The position of the pins in the head and neck region suggests the wearing of a headscarf or cap (Lenerz-de Wilde 1989: 252–253), which Majolie Lenerz-de Wilde interpreted in terms of the women getting married; Stefan Burmeister (Burmeister 2000: 90), however, contended that the number of married women would be far too small in that case. In *Situla Art*, all women – or persons recognisable as such – wear headscarves, but it cannot be excluded that only married women were depicted. Bronze belt plates and belt hooks were typically female items in the early phase of Hallstatt D, but their gender connotation along with that of arm rings and pearl jewellery changed over time; from Hallstatt D2 they are commonly included in male graves as well (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005: 96). In the south-eastern Hallstatt area, belt plates are high-status items for both men and women. The iconography on the belt plates themselves and the way they are depicted on *situlae* also speak for a male connotation (cf. Schumann 2015: 211). Belts for high-status women may symbolise chastity. Ancient Greek women dedicated their belts to Artemis on the occasion of their first pregnancy (Eibner 2000b: 131). Archaeologically only visible



Figure 7.18 The mirror from Castelvetro, Italy (Cavedoni 1842: pl. H)

in traces, the change of women's dress at the onset of adulthood was certainly significant, but at present, it remains unclear if it correlates with age alone, marriage, or motherhood.

7.7.1 *Women's dress, veil, hairstyle and attributes*

Women's clothed bodies on early Iron Age imagery seems rather uniform. Amongst the 240 depictions of dressed women are two large groups of sources: images on *situlae* and images on pottery. The difference in the style of depiction affects quite significantly how women are shown. What they have in common is the detail in depicting the ornamentation and sophistication of fabrics. The quality and diversity of Hallstatt textile production is breathtaking and includes an incredible wealth of materials, colours, spinning and weaving

patterns, as well as sewing and refining techniques. In contrast to northern Europe, however, where textiles recovered from bogs form the majority of the known material (Bender Jørgensen 1991), such preservation is uncommon in central Europe (Grömer 2016) and pre-Roman Italy (Gleba 2008), areas that share major aspects of their textile tradition. Finds to compare to the images are found either in graves, where textiles preserve because they corrode on to metal grave goods, or from the salt mines of Hallstatt and Hallein, Austria, where they are re-used as rags.

The colours, patterns and cuts of the textiles women wore as dress contributed the most to their appearance; metal dress fittings such as *fibulae*, pins and belt hooks, in contrast, added only a small part of the overall impression, but form the majority of archaeological finds. Colours are largely absent in early Iron Age imagery, but patterns are sometimes alluded to by specific metal and pottery decoration techniques, and some aspects of the cut can be derived from the depictions, too.

Women on Situla Art (Fig. 7.19) generally wear their heads covered by a veil. The veil of the early Iron Age is a garment intended to cover hair and head, but not the face or neck; it is a relatively simple rectangular or semi-circular piece of cloth of varying length (cf. Lenneis 1972). Plain and patterned versions are attested; some veils end at waist level, whereas others are almost as long as the garment underneath. Even women engaged in sexual activities; notably the ones on the *situla* from Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013), are always depicted with a veil as the only item of clothing, although in this case, it blends into a cloak or mantle worn over the head and the whole body. Only the woman giving birth on this *situla* is fully naked and shown with some hair. The length of the headscarf/mantle may, to some extent, indicate the women's social status and importance. On the *situla* of Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), for example, the spinning women and one of the serving women wear a long veil, whereas the women carrying cists and the other serving women wear short veils. Likewise, the women on the mirror from Castelvetro, Italy (Fig. 7.18, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 21), seem of different age and status, perhaps daughter and mother.

The female bronze statuette from the lid of the *kratēr* from the *tombe princière* of Vix, France (Plate 11, Rolley 2003: pl. 107), renders the female early Iron Age dress in beautiful detail. To this day, the statuette can be read as embodying elegance and modesty. It is 19 cm high and was probably made in a south Italian workshop around 540–530 BC. Veiling is, of course, a cultural practice with origins in the Near East, which was common during much of European late pre-history until recently. Depending on the cultural context, veiling signalled social distance, marital status, reputability or religiosity. That women are supposed to cover their heads is mentioned in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor 11. 2–16). St Mary is almost always shown with a veil, and her iconographic omnipresence in the Christian tradition certainly affected the long-term European dress culture. Until very recently, Christian women covered their heads upon entering a church, and Catholic nuns still wear a veil as part of their habit. Veiling is also part of dressing modestly, and is required for Muslim women; which specific form the veil should take, however, is a matter of regional variation.

Veils may be reserved for a certain subset of women, and women may wear veils continuously or only in certain social contexts, for example, in public appearances or at religious feasts. It is hard to tell if that was the case in the early Iron Age, as most images *a priori* depict scenes of the elite with a religious sub-text. What is clear is that the veil was worn outside (during processions and travelling) and indoors (during feasting and sex). The veil can be clearly recognised in 134 images, but with many of the stylised images it is not clear if women wore a veil or not. Earrings or hair draped in curls are present in 70 of the female representations and are also an important indicator of gender, particularly for very stylised human images. Necklaces (86 in number) likewise have a female connotation, but neck rings closer to the torcs are also found with male individuals.

Women's hair is often hidden under the veil or only the hairline is visible, as on the figurine from Vix (Plate 11, Rolley 2003: pl. 107). It is therefore difficult to assess women's hairstyle, as it was not a subject of depiction. The bronze figurines from the Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a: fig. 14), and Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a: pl. 26), naked except for a belt, show women without hair, perhaps with shaved heads, but with earrings. A female lead figurine from Nyergesújfalu, Hungary (Egg 1996a: Fig. 28.1), however, wears her long hair separated into a ponytail. The figurine from Vöcklabruck, Austria (Straub 1980: Fig. 13.7), wears an elaborate, combed hairdo.

The dress underneath the veil reaches to the middle of the calves or the ankles. There are plain, simple tunic dresses, often hemmed with an ornate band (most likely tablet woven, cf. Grömer 2016), producing a slim and androgynous silhouette, for instance, on the *situla* of Vače, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73). Most women's garments are belted and therefore appear more tailored to the body shape; especially Situla Art from south of the river Po pays tribute to women's curves. From the images alone, it remains unclear if different patterns for the upper and lower body mean different garments or a partitioning of the dress. Vertical stripes for the skirts may represent pleats (e.g., Montebelluna, Italy, Bianchin Citton in prep, or Welzelach, Austria, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 76). The women on the belt buckle from Carceri, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: 60, Fig. 5.1), wears boots underneath her pleated skirt, but on most Situla Art, the specific footwear is not represented.



Figure 7.19 Women's dress according to images on *situlae*, from Bologna-Certosa, Italy; *situla* in Providence, Carceri, Italy, Vače, Slovenia, and Welzelach, Austria (after Lucke and Frey 1962: 60, app. 1, pl. 64, 73, 76)

Women's dress as represented on sheet bronze is thus a close match to Etruscan dress (cf. Bonfante 2003a). In textile studies, it is still debated whether female dresses in central Europe were cut like tunics or draped like the Greek *peplos* (Grömer 2016). Although pairs of *fibulae* at the shoulders are common grave finds, they may be used to fasten a cloak just as well as a *peplos*. Many Hallstatt graves in southern Germany, for instance, include a symmetrical pair at the shoulders and a single smaller *fibula* in the centre of the chest (Mansfeld 2011), suggesting a finer undergarment and a coarser overgarment. Representative cloaks or mantles have also, on occasion, been found in graves. In the double grave of burial mound X from Mitterkirchen, Austria (Pertlwieser 1987), for example, one woman with headdress, bead necklace, pin and leg rings wore a leather cloak adorned by a pattern of thousands of little bronze rivets and rings. A mantle with similar bronze appliques, arranged in geometric patterns, has recently been reconstructed from Grave 20 of Burial Mound 48 from Stična, Slovenia (Hellmuth 2008). The grave also included sheet gold appliques of woman's headdress, which perhaps originates in the Scythian area. A more modest version in bronze was found in Strettweg, Austria (Tiefengraber and Tiefengraber 2013).

Women's dress formed in clay or sketched on pottery in the northeastern Hallstatt area gives a few complementary insights. Here, too, the geometrical patterns of the fabrics, including checks, stripes, triangles and dots, seem an important feature alluding to sophisticated textile fabrics. Differently patterned hems are common again, and the body of the dresses often appear to have vertical sections, perhaps indicating a composite garment. The basic shape of the triangle (Dobiat 1982, Schappelwein 1999) comes in a number of variants. Arms above the triangle may indicate a skirt, and the whole body rendered as a triangle a cloak. The female figurines from Gemeinlebarn, Austria (Plate 10, Kromer 1958), wear the shortest skirts in the Hallstatt area. Bell-shaped dresses, as found on the vessel from Tumulus 28, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29), may indicate motion; the figures appear to be dancing to the play of the lyre. It is unclear whether women of this area also wore veils, as they are not clearly represented. A further vessel from Tumulus 28, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 31), perhaps represents bouffant hair. Due to the schematic mode of depiction, the gender of the persons is not immediately apparent from the shape of dress sketches on pottery; the typical triangular form most likely represents a cloak or mantle, an overgarment worn by women and men.

The range of objects women are associated with in art is quite limited. Objects in association with people normally index activities (see Section 5.2) or symbolise ritual roles and status categories. Textile tools such as the spindles from Sopron, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980), and Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), point to the activity of textile making. Further, women are often associated with vessels. In *Situla Art*, women are frequently shown carrying cists and large storage vessels on the head, for instance, at Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1995: 320, pl. 11, fig. 3), Welzelach, Austria (Urban 2000: 244), and Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep). The *situla* of Bologna-Certosa (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64) shows a procession in which three women carry a basket, a cist and a pile of wood (for the funerary pyre) on their heads, followed by men carrying large

bronze buckets either with a stick supported by their shoulders or on the handle; three further women follow three men, carrying another set of large vessels on their heads.

The motif of women carrying heavy loads on their heads is not restricted to Situla Art. The ceramic figurine from Gemeinlebarn, Austria (Plate 10, Kromer 1958: 43), the lead figurines from Frög, Austria (Tomedi 2002: pl. 80), and the bronze figurines supporting the bronze *klinē* from Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a), suggest that this motif was widespread and worked in most available materials. Some of the figurines, such as the central woman carrying a bowl at the wagon model from Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a: 24, fig. 14) use ring-shaped carrying devices to support their heavy loads, presumably made of textiles or other organic material.

Feasting scenes on *situlae* show a wide selection of vessel types, from bowls to cups, jugs, handled bronze buckets and large bowls, to mixing vessels on tripod stands. Pouring drinks with a ladle is a task done equally by men and women on most *situlae* (e.g., Vače, Slovenia, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73); only late *situlae* from northern locations exclusively depict men in this serving role (e.g., Dürrnberg-Kranzbichl and Kuffern, Austria, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75, Zeller 2004: 400). Perhaps these were produced in a place and at a time when women became increasingly excluded from feasting as a male activity.

Vessels may indicate a sacred action, for instance, when they characterise a person as giving offerings to the gods. At Este-Baratella, Italy (Chieco Bianchi 2002), for example, female and male bronze figurines hold small bowls in their hands to embody their role as worshipper and dedicator.

True attributes, signalling power and status, are keys, which are held in the right hands of veiled women with elaborate dresses on the votive plates from Montebelluna, Italy (Teržan 2004). Keys symbolise access to and power over the house, which may not only mean the household as such, which the women oversaw, but also the house in its genealogical sense. The women are depicted as matriarchs of their families; the dogs next to the women underline their role as guardian of the household.

7.7.2 *Pregnancy and childbirth*

The age of marriage is crucial for early Iron Age demographics. Generally speaking, the later the marital age for women, the fewer children are born. There is good evidence that during the Iron Age, the average age of first motherhood was almost 10 years higher in northern central Europe than in the Mediterranean (Burmeister and Gebühr in press). This is interesting because it confirms that the western European marriage pattern (Hajnal 1965), with very late marriages and few children in cross-cultural comparison, may have roots in prehistory. Just prior to industrialisation in Western Europe, for example, only about half of all women between 15 and 50 years of age were married; the others were spinsters, nuns or widowed early. Census data from nineteenth century Austria suggest a link between

micro-regional socio-economic structures and marriage rates, which ranged between 30 and 60 per cent (Teibenbacher 2012), but never included all women.

Becoming a mother comes at a risk. Even today, death during childbirth is at 1500 per 100,000 births (Van Lerberghe and De Brouwere 2001) when nothing effective is done to avert death; women in the poorest nations still face a lifetime risk of 1 in 16 to die in pregnancy or childbirth (Save the Children 2013). Immediate complications range from obstructed labour to haemorrhage and infection. Intriguingly, the underlying cause of maternal mortality today is the social status of women: maternal and infant mortality is the result of factors such as poverty, access to healthcare and female participation in decision making. Knowledge about modern medical interventions and procedures is but one factor. A range of further practices affect maternal and infant mortality, including attitudes to hygiene and breastfeeding, the level of involvement of women in physical work before and after labour, access to food of high nutritional value and the level of care provided by relatives.

Estimates of prehistoric maternal mortality vary widely, but certainly the first and last births are particularly dangerous. Stefan Burmeister's analysis of late Hallstatt graves in southern Germany showed that most grave inventories were associated with women of the reproductive period between 20 and 40 years of age. Only 8.2 per cent of the 103 female grave inventories he looked at were those of teenage girls between 10 and 19, but 31.6 per cent of female grave inventories were associated with women who died between the ages of 20 and 39, and 19.3 per cent with women between 30 and 39 years at death. The percentage fell again in the next decade, with 9.5 per cent of inventories associated with women between 40 and 49 years at death (Burmeister 2000: 77). A higher mortality during the reproductive period suggests an association of death with the risks of pregnancy, labour and the post-partum period, although certainly not all deaths during early adulthood can be attributed to reproduction.

Direct evidence of maternal mortality in the form of graves of women with foetuses in situ, or double burials of women and neonates, are part of the archaeological record, albeit not particularly numerous. Graves of pregnant women are known from Rottenburg am Neckar, Germany (Berg, Rolle and Seemann 1981), and Dürnberg, Austria (Pauli 1975). A recent re-analysis of the famous cremation grave from an Athenian geometric tomb revealed the presence of a foetus (Liston and Papadopoulos 2004) which previously had been missed; a closer look at cremation burials may unearth a number of similar findings in the eastern Hallstatt area.

Becoming a mother may have further health implications that affect women's lives in the long term (cf. Shorter 1982). Thanks to modern medicine, birth injuries such as fistulas and prolapse of the uterus are surgically treatable, although they remain huge problems for women in the developing world. Prolapse of the uterus results from overstraining or injuring the pelvic floor, most often in connection to childbirth, although other causes are possible. Rest after childbirth is crucial for healing, but not always possible or socially supported for all physically hard-working women. Until today, prolapse of the uterus is alleviated by inserting pessaries in the vagina to hold the uterus in place. The earliest evidence for such

gynaecological interventions in central Europe date to the early Iron Age: ceramic rings of 5.5 to 8.6 cm diameter were found in the pelvic area of female skeletons in western France and southern Germany, most recently in Stuttgart-Viesenhäuser Hof, Germany (Scherzler 1998). Ceramic rings are also known from settlement sites, where they are frequently interpreted as (loom or fishing net) weights; they might also have been secondarily used as pessaries.

Images of pregnant women and childbirth in Central Europe are rare. On the conical neck of a vessel from Maiersch, Austria (Fig. 7.20, Berg 1962: pl. 29), a smaller person is inscribed into the geometric representation of a larger person; both are depicted in triangular shape and highly abstracted. The image may therefore just be an ornamental play or, conversely, represent an adult and child standing in front. A staggered perspective was, however, not used in this style of depiction. A figure from Ampass-Demlfeld, Austria (Blecha 2016, Tomedi 2009: fig. 10.2) repeats the person-in-person motif in bronze and has recently been interpreted as representing a pregnant woman. A pregnant figurine was unearthed at the sanctuary of Turska kosa, Croatia (Fig. 7.20, Čučković 2008a: 99, no. 68). The pregnant belly is indicated by a large, round and separately formed slab pressed on to the abdominal area of the figurine before firing. A number of further figurines have small button-like additions, perhaps representing navels (belly buttons).

Francè Starè reads the decoration of a bronze pectoral found in Ulaka, Slovenia (Starè 1970), as the representation of a woman in childbirth. She would be captured in a highly unusual way, lying down with her legs spread, with the baby just emerging as an oval from the vagina. The abstracted nature of the representation, however, does not easily lend itself to this interpretation. A clearer image is that of the fragment of a stone sculpture from Nesactium, Croatia (Fischer 1984: pl. 8, fig. 1), in which a woman is shown shortly after birth: her left hand is at her

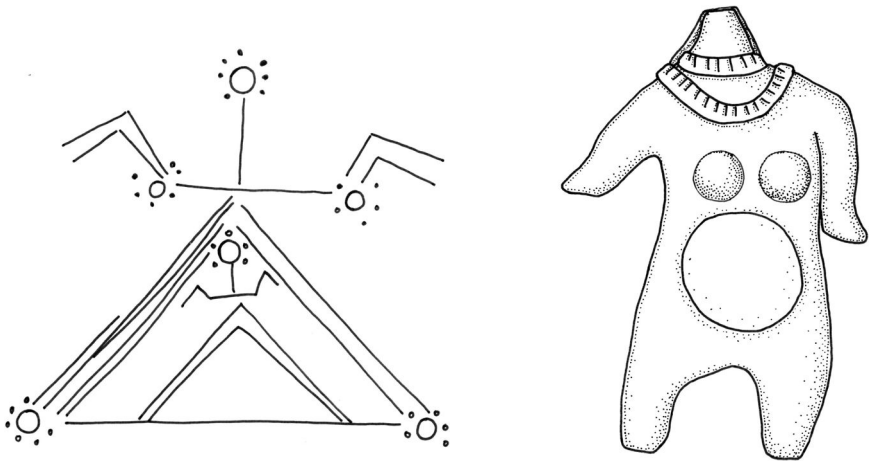


Figure 7.20 Pregnant women from Maiersch, Austria and Turska kosa, Croatia (after Berg 1962: pl. 29, Čučković 2008a: 99, no. 68)

clearly depicted vulva and she appears to be breastfeeding a baby placed across her chest.

The image of childbirth on the *situla* of Pieved' Alpago, Italy (Fig. 7.21, Gangemi 2013), is a relatively recent find and not yet well known. The birthing woman is depicted in a standing position, with arms stretched out and holding on to a beam or frame above her head. The birth bar could have been a loom used for that purpose. Her face and body are shown in profile, with her pregnant belly clearly indicated; her feet are shown from the side and wide apart. A baby is just emerging from her pubic area: the head and arms have already been born, whereas the rest of the body is still waiting to come out. The woman giving birth does not appear to wear clothes, in contrast to the assisting women.

The women assisting in childbirth have their hands under the arms of the birthing women. In a gravity-assisted birth, supporting the woman holding on to the birth bar may be necessary at this stage. The midwife standing in front of the birthing woman seems to give the baby a push with her hand on her belly, whilst she is carrying a vessel by its handle in the other hand. One can easily imagine it contained water for baby's first wash or bath, or is used to dispose of the afterbirth. The second midwife behind the woman supports the other arm; her role may also be to reassure the birthing woman and to relieve pain. In this scene, birth is depicted as a female-only but assisted affair, most likely taking place indoors. The rest of the scenes depicted in the *situla* frieze show courtship and sex in five different positions – it seems apparent that the connection between sex and reproduction was well understood.

The closest Mediterranean parallels for the childbirth motif are stamps on Etruscan pottery from Poggio Colla, Italy (Fig. 7.21, Perkins 2012), dating to c. 700–600 BC. They show a woman squatting as she gives birth to a baby, which is shown already partly delivered between her legs. Her upper body is in profile, with hands raised, perhaps holding on to a frame or vegetation in natural surroundings. The stamp is only one centimetre high and thus details are difficult to interpret. Birth scenes are very rare in the Iron Age Mediterranean. Amongst the notable exceptions are an Attic relief of a woman giving birth on a birthing stool, assisted by four women (Keuls 1993: 143, fig. 124), and several images of women in birthing position on a pig found in southern Italy (Keuls 1993: 353–354).

7.7.3 *Beyond the childbearing years*

Women beyond the reproductive period are even more difficult to trace in imagery. Nothing suggests old age beyond adulthood. The image on the mirror of Castelvetro, Italy (Fig. 7.18, Lucke and Frey 1962: 21), seems to depict women of two generations. One woman is slimmer, wears a short veil, earrings and a belted dress, whereas the other woman – perhaps the mother or mother-in-law – is a little more corpulent and wears a longer veil. She appears to be wearing more ring jewellery on the arms, but no belt.

Women of post-reproductive age most likely contributed much to society by helping to raise grandchildren (Hawkes 2004) and contributing to domestic tasks. Older women in the cemetery of Chotín, Slovakia (Dušek 1966, Eibner 1986),

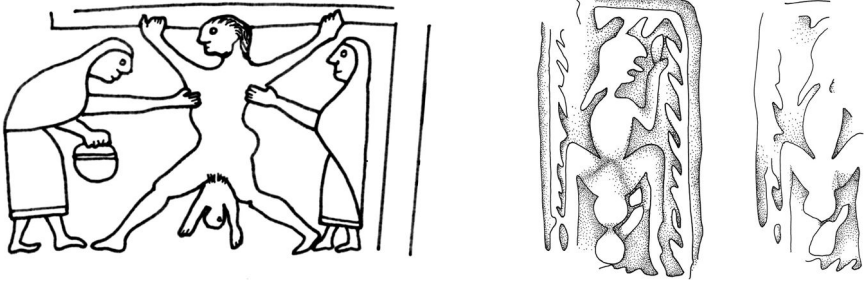


Figure 7.21 Images of childbirth from Pieve d'Alpago, Italy and Poggio Colla, Italy (after Frigo 2013, Perkins 2012: drawing by Morgan Burgess, © Mugello Valley Archaeological Project, courtesy of Phil Perkins)

for instance, were buried with more spindle whorls than younger women. Only a sixth of the sub-adult women had a spindle whorl in their grave, a third of the adult-to-mature women, but all of the oldest age class. This perhaps indicates that spinning became a more and more important task as women aged.

Little, however, is left to suggest that the value of elderly women was socially recognised. Women in cemeteries in southwestern Germany are often buried with less elaborate and conspicuous dress elements above the age of about 40. Colourful and apotropaic jewellery is missing in this age group. Whereas women buried during their apparent reproductive period had the largest burial chambers in southern Germany, often exceeding those of males in size, older women beyond the reproductive years are again buried in smaller chambers (Burmeister 2000). A similar trend seems to be noticeable in the Bavarian Altmühl Valley (Schumann 2015: 106), where the extent of the pottery set in the graves correlates with the chronological period, the sex and the age of the buried individual. At least in the early phase of the Hallstatt period, juvenile individuals are buried with few items of pottery. Their number increases with the burial age until late adulthood; mature individuals are then again buried with fewer vessels. This clearly suggests that Hallstatt societies valued women most in their capacity as potential childbearers; past reproductive success seems less important.

In summary, femininity as expressed in imagery and graves is likened to women's role as mothers. This included looking after a household and associated activities. As yet, we know little of alternative lifeways for women and what they may entail. There is evidence, however, that aspects of masculinity such as wearing weaponry and participating in war were, at times, transferable to women.

7.8 Masculinity: war and everyday life

Graves of men were, a long time ago, identified by weapons as grave goods (Sofaer and Sørensen 2013), before it was realised that not all graves of men include weapons. Masculinity in the early Iron Age had two faces – that of the

civilian and that of the warrior. Attempting an explicitly masculinist approach (cf. Joyce 2005, Knapp 1998a), this section systematically explores what it means to be a man in the early Iron Age and outlines different ways of how masculinity was constructed through material culture and imagery. It will aim to understand the multidimensionality of masculinity and explore the warrior identity as situational and which, at times, may also be adopted by women.

Participation in warfare and the cultivation of the body are the pillars of warrior identity, which, according to Paul Treherne (Treherne 1995), began to appear as a European-wide phenomenon some time in the mid-second millennium BC. The crucial shift from communal identity to individual identity with clear status differentiation can be traced through the characteristics of high-status graves. Warriors are men who, probably only during a part of their life span, led a characteristic lifestyle that is associated with the participation in (ritualised) warfare and raids. Warriors form privileged, elite groups, which involve fraternity, relationships of hospitality and reciprocity, and honour codes. Central to the warrior identity is the equipment with weaponry; the consumption of alcohol as seen in drinking vessels, riding and driving horses as well as bodily ornamentation (Treherne 1995: 108). The 'warrior's beauty' is achieved through bodily practices such as training, but also grooming, dress and armour.

The late Bronze Age warrior, equipped with sword, spear, shield, helmet, greaves and corselet, as well as toilet articles such as combs, tweezers, razors, mirrors and awls (Treherne 1995: 110), continues well into the early Iron Age. Importantly, and in contrast to the late Bronze Age, these items may accompany the deceased into the grave and fix his image in death. Typically male grave goods are not as easy to trace as female items in southern German graves. Children under the age of 10 are never buried with specifically male grave goods; only from about that age do boys begin to be socially recognised as male. Gender typical in early Hallstatt D is the pair of *fibulae* (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005: 104). Weapons start to be included in some graves from the age of about 20. Younger men tend to be buried with lances, whereas daggers are reserved for males of the late adult-to-senile age group; this suggests that rather than reflecting particular styles of combat, the type of weaponry indicates a social role. Razors were also found together with older males, for which body care and beauty were clearly significant (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005: 104). Men of old age in the southern German Iron Age seem to fall in two distinct groups: a group of high-status individuals with weapons and unique items for the gender and age group, buried in very large burial chambers, and older men buried in chambers below the average size of adult men. The fact that up to 50 per cent of men reached a distinguished high status in old age seems to reflect family rulership in a generally wealthy society rather than an actual elite (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005: 121).

The addition of weapons in graves in the northeastern Hallstatt area is the exception rather than the rule, but singular graves with lances and horse gear (e.g., Statzendorf, Austria, Rebay 2006) and swords (e.g., Gemeinlebarn, Austria, Dungal and Szombathy 1903) are known. The typical warrior equipment of the southeastern Hallstatt area includes two lances and an axe. Sometimes the axe

is omitted or pieces of defensive weaponry, horse gear or arrowheads are added (Schumann 2015: 210). Helmets in particular seem to indicate a high social prestige; it is no coincidence that helmets often occur on *situlae* as prizes for the successful dumb-bell fighter.

As we have seen earlier (Section 7.4), more than two-thirds of all human representations are male; of those, about a third are depicted naked in a more or less explicitly sexual way. One pathway of constructing masculinity therefore directly relates to biological maleness.

The man in civilian dress and without weapons – except for an axe for ritual purposes – accounts for the majority of male depictions (674, 21 per cent of the total of 3148). The counterpoint to the ‘civilian’ is the warrior (389, 12 per cent), identifiable in early Iron Age art by wearing a helmet (295) and/or weapons (315) as attributes. Interestingly, these numbers roughly correlate with the proportion of weapon graves of 7 to 20 per cent in the southeast Alpine area (Schumann 2015: 291). The complete warrior attire consists of helmet, body armour and greaves; weaponry is regionally and chronologically distinct and includes swords, daggers, lances, axes, arrows and shields.

Warriors mounted on horseback complete with weaponry are less common (50, 2 per cent). The horse, however, plays a very important role, both as an element of civilian and military activities. Men are associated with horses in one way or another – training, leading, riding or driving horses; some also hunt on horseback. A large number of riders are depicted without weaponry (396 of 446 riders) and gender characteristics, often in a very schematic way. They may be intended to represent mounted warriors. In the northeastern Hallstatt and the adjacent Lausitanian area, however, riders on horseback frequently appear to be hunting (cf. Schlette 1984). Not a single image shows with certainty a female person on horseback, although other associations between women and horses exist, for instance, in hoards (Metzner-Nebelsick and Nebelsick 1999), in the form of horse *fibulae* in Hallstatt and La Tène women’s graves (Metzner-Nebelsick 2007) or female hybrids with horse-shaped arms (Egg 1986a). The horse may therefore be considered Iron Age man’s best friend and an independent element of constructing male identity.

7.8.1 Men’s hairstyles and headgear

A particular style of wearing hair and beard can convey messages of social status and order. Cutting hair and shaving a beard have been shown to transport a range of cultural situational meanings, for example, mourning and grief; the fulfilment of a task; or being forcefully employed by others, punishment and loss of social position (Dotzler 1983: 205). Of men’s hairstyles, the bald – or rather shaved – head is most notable (n = 63). On the *situla* of Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), the person pouring a drink for a seated person with a broad-brimmed hat is shown with a bald head, his servant role perhaps suggesting a lower social position. From the *situla* in Providence (Lucke and Frey 1962), however, it is apparent that the bald head was normally covered by a hat, which

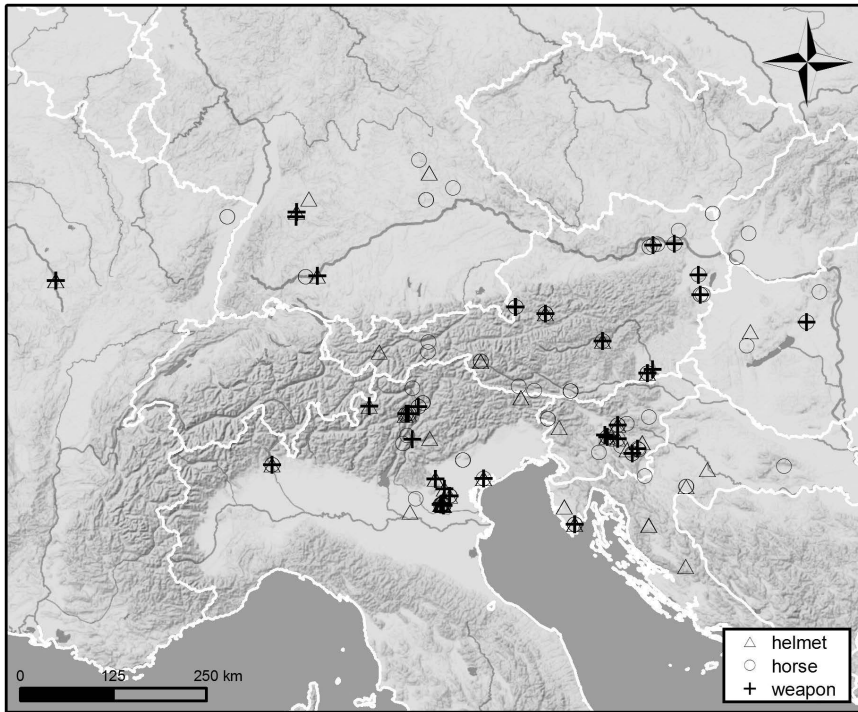


Figure 7.22 Elements of masculinity in early Iron Age imagery

was only taken off only during special occasions. Men with bald heads are thus depicted in sporting competitions and during sexual encounters; occasionally also whilst hunting (e.g., Pillerhöhe, Austria, Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 1998). The shaved head was the default look of the high-status Hallstatt man, combined with specific headwear.

Although the shaved head is most often found on *Situla* Art, it is not confined to that genre. It extends to bronze figurines such as the *aulos* player from Százhalombatta, Hungary (Plate 6, Egg 1996a: 50, fig. 50), or the rider and boxer from Hallstatt, Austria (Kromer 1959b: pl. 115, pl. 137), to ceramic figurines such as the rider from Speikern, Germany (Vollrath 1964), or the figure head from Rotendorf (Wamser 1980). In many cases, however, the mode of depiction does not specify any particular hairstyle and leaves it open whether or not people shaved their heads, wore short or long hair or any other hairstyle. Hair was, for the most part, not subject to depiction.

Short hair peeks out under a round hat on the *situla* from Este-Capodaglio, Italy (Lessing 1980: fig. 59). Long hair is rare. The left warrior on the belt plate of Vače, Slovenia (Fig. 7.26, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 55), wears long and wavy hair, most likely because he has lost his helmet in battle. The hairstyle has been

taken as an indication for his foreign origin (Turk 2005: 40) or even female gender (Kern and Guichard 2008: 11). Long hair, however, certainly does not reference women. Long hair, perhaps bundled in a ponytail, is shown on the inside of a bronze bowl from Hallstatt, Austria (Prüssing 1991: 311, pl. 99). This kind of image is rare, and the mode of depiction – a casual sketching – leaves the possibility that what is actually meant is a helmet with crest and tail. A female lead figurine from Nyergesújfalu, Hungary (Egg 1996a: Fig. 28.1), however, wears a similar hairstyle with long hair separated to a ponytail, which has been traced to the Picenum region in Italy.

This hairstyle appears several times in very stylised form at the *klinē* of Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a: pl. 26), keeping the long hair of the sword fighters in check. Whether the fragment from Býčí skála, Czech Republic (Eibner 1999: 47), intends to depict a similar hairstyle or the plume of a helmet is difficult to decide. On pottery, one of the figures on the conical-necked vessel from Praunsberg, Austria, seem to be depicted with a ponytail. At Sopron, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29), three pairs of persons are depicted that literally seem to be getting into each other's hair – the hairstyles of dancing or fighting persons dressed both in skirts and trousers can only be described as scruffy. A much neater appearance with elaborate hairstyles, including head bands, was set in stone at Nesactium, Croatia (Fischer 1984: pl. 9). Near-Eastern hairstyles with shoulder-length curly hair and fringes were imported alongside sphinxes (e.g., Grafenbühl, Germany, Zürn and Herrmann 1965) and copied in some local variants of hybrids (see Section 7.3).

Beards were generally not in fashion in early Iron Age imagery. Rare exceptions include imported images such as the Attic *kratēr* from the Heuneburg, Germany (Kimmig 2000: pl. 1), and a bronze plaque from Vicenza, Italy (Zaghetto 2002a: 309, Fig. 134.2), where one of the two men with broad-brimmed hats and cloaks is shown with a full beard made by a band of parallel incisions. The style of wearing the hair and beard underwent a radical transformation from the early to the late Iron Age. Short hair and moustache become characteristic of early La Tène male depictions, perhaps best exemplified by the Glauberg warrior (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002) or the bronze plaque attached to a wooden flask from Dürrenberg, Austria (Moser, Tiefengraber and Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2012: 103).

Hats (465 in total) are shown in an extraordinary range of fashions. Simple, flat and round hats are most common ($n = 267$). Some hats (115) have the same main shape and a slightly protruding centre. They appear more turban-like, as the body of the hat is broader and sometimes shaped with a herring-bone pattern perhaps indicative of braiding. The third main type of hat ($n = 46$) has a broad brim and appears crescent shaped in profile. The broad-brimmed type is most commonly found pictured on Italian Situla Art, for example, at Bologna-Certosa and Este-Benvenuti (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64, pl. 65), whereas the beret and turban shapes are dominant in Slovenia, for instance, on the *situla* from Dolenjske Toplice (Egg and Eibner 2005) or Magdalenska gora (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 5). Some pointed caps ($n = 24$) come close to the shape of the Phrygian hats and helmets, but without necessarily having the top pulled forward (e.g., the hunter on the belt plate of Molnik, Slovenia, Egg and Eibner 2005: 197, fig. 7). They were, presumably,

made of organic material and do not preserve in graves; however, two hat types, the round and the pointed, were found in the salt mines of Hallstatt, Austria (Kern et al. 2009: 105). Made of sheep pelt, the round, beret-shaped hat was worn with the wool outside, whereas the pointed hat had the wool inside.

The three main forms of hat appear together on some *situlae*, for example, that in Providence (Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1), which may underline the importance of the depicted feast in bringing people of different social and regional identities together. The *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), suggests most clearly that hats express regional identities. All persons proceeding towards the feast wear round and flat hats, a few with slightly protruding centre; at the feast itself, men wear either this shape of hat or the broad-brimmed type, which looks crescent shaped in profile. At the dumb-bell fight, a team of three supporters of each kind stand left and right of the competitors, respectively. The musicians wear the broad-brimmed hat type, the persons mixing and serving drinks the flat and round types.

Long pointed hats are worn by the chariot drivers on the *situlae* of Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63), and Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75); they may be a specific sporting outfit.

Triangular shapes of headgear usually refer to helmets, although fragments of a hat made of birch bark from Hochdorf, Germany, and Grave 352 from Dürnb-berg, Austria (Moser 2010: 56–60), suggest that they were in use too. Triangular hats reminiscent of Chinese hats seemed to have been worn during agricultural work, as depictions of ploughing men in civilian clothes from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), or Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992: app. 2), suggest. It is sometimes hard to judge from the representation alone whether a helmet or a different kind of headdress is meant: the warrior of Hirschlanden, Germany (Plate 1, Marzoli 2003, Zürn 1964a), for example, was long thought to be wearing a conical helmet before examples of hats of similar form made from birch bark emerged from the archaeological record.

7.8.2 Male dress

Male dress is considerably more varied than female dress on Situla Art and other forms of human imagery (Fig. 7.25). The standard ‘civilian dress’ is a straight, simple and untailored tunic reaching somewhere between over the knee and the ankle. Seventy-one per cent (488) of clothed men ($n = 685$) wear this form of garment. From the depictions alone, it can ultimately not be decided whether they are plain tunics or cloaks worn as over-garments. Particularly people travelling, regardless of whether they are riding a horse, driving a wagon or walking on foot, are normally depicted without arms, which makes a simple cloak without tailored arms a likely possibility.

On the other hand, people participating in feasts wear the same plain dresses, and again, arms are only shown when they are holding objects, gesticulating or engaging in specific activities. Like female dresses (cf. Section 7.7.1), the quality and pattern of the textiles are often emphasised by the mode of sheet bronze

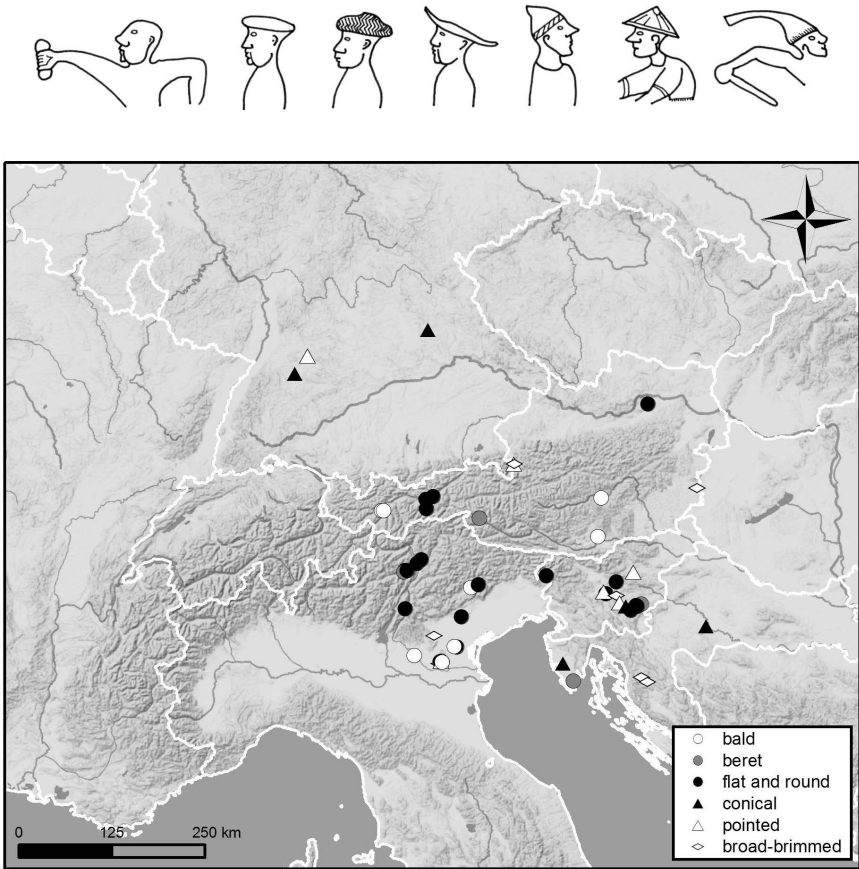


Figure 7.23 Male heads: bald, with flat and round hat, beret-shaped hat, broad-brimmed hat, pointed hat, conical hat and long pointed hat, from the *situla* in Providence (first four), Magdalenska gora, Slovenia, Montebelluno, Italy, and Kuffern, Austria (after Bianchin Citton in prep, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1, pl. 68, 75), distribution of prevailing head types

decoration. Plain, dotted, striped and check varieties of fabrics and a (tablet-woven) band at the hem are frequently depicted. Sleeves occur rarely, and because they are often only indicated by two lines at the upper arm, they may represent upper arm rings. Several persons on the *situla* fragment from Dürnbach-Kranzbühl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Moser 2010: 112), for example, the ones carrying a dead deer on a pole or the lyre player, almost certainly wear short-sleeved tunics.

Some other tasks, including outdoor tasks such as ploughing or hunting, require an outfit in which a short skirt is central. It is sometimes worn with bare upper body and at other times combined with a belt and a plain, short-sleeved shirt (e.g., Welzelach, Austria, Sanzeno, Italy, Nesactium, Croatia, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 45, 60, 67). This

skirt is sometimes depicted as check or striped – perhaps because it was pleated – and has an uneven, curved hem, which points to a square basic garment shape.

Striped or pleated short skirts appear with hunters (?) sketched on the inside of the bronze pedestal bowl of Hallstatt (Prüssing 1991: 311, pl. 99); unusually, they are also depicted with long hair (or crested helmet). A simple wrap skirt with straight hem, again combined with bare upper body or plain shirt features in depictions of physical strain, is seen when heavy vessels are carried or heavy animals dragged (e.g., on the *situla* from Bologna-Certosa, Italy, Lucke and Frey 1962: 64). An orant bronze figurine from Imst-Parzinspitze, Austria (Höck 1997: no. 1), wears a plain, short skirt with check waist band and hem. The sword fighters on the *klinē* from Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a), perhaps also wear short skirts, although other forms of garments, such as an extension of body armour, are equally thinkable.

Of unusual shape are some garments on the *situla* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 2). Although the *situla* was found in the grave of a woman, it is by no means certain that the people wearing them are indeed women (contra Turk 2005: 29). Only the lower halves of the person are preserved and there are no other indicators of sex or gender. They either represent two-part outfits with a plain shirt, belt and skirt or belted one-piece garments. The skirts have a high-cut opening on the front, revealing the legs up to the middle of the thighs; the back part of the skirt is long. People wearing this outfit appear to be dancing to music.

Very few early Iron Age images show trousers. On the belt plate from Molnik, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 197, fig. 7), the trousers are checked and tailored to the body, but with a little give at the legs. Trousers are also depicted on the conical-necked ceramic vessel from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: 29), worn by pairs of fighting people. Here, too, the sketching suggests a check fabric. People on the cists of Kleinklein, Austria (Prüssing 1991, Schmid 1933) are shown with wide and separated legs, perhaps in trousers rather than tunics. As they are simply outlined with punches on sheet bronze, the precise type of their garments remains unknown. Trousers seem more common from the early La Tène period onwards, for example, on the sword scabbard of Hallstatt, Austria (Barth and Urban 2007, Egg, Hauschild and Schönfelder 2006). The trousers on this object are hooped and combined with an upper body garment that extends the back part over the buttocks.

Cloaks were worn over tunics, shirts/skirts or trousers to protect against the cold, but had additional significance as a sign of status for both men and women. The *situla* from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), shows cloaks decorated with many bronze rivets such as the one found in the women's graves of Mitterkirchen, Austria, and Stična, Slovenia (see Section 7.7.1). A seated man is wearing the cloak whilst he is holding a horse by the reins, whereas two other men, seated at a feast, convey the impression that they had hung their cloaks over their seats before sitting down.

Several cloaks of different form have been discovered in graves of Villanovan Etruria. The *tomba del trono*, Verucchio, Italy (Bonfante 2003a, von Eles 2002), for example, included two mantles in addition to a tunic. They were woven of

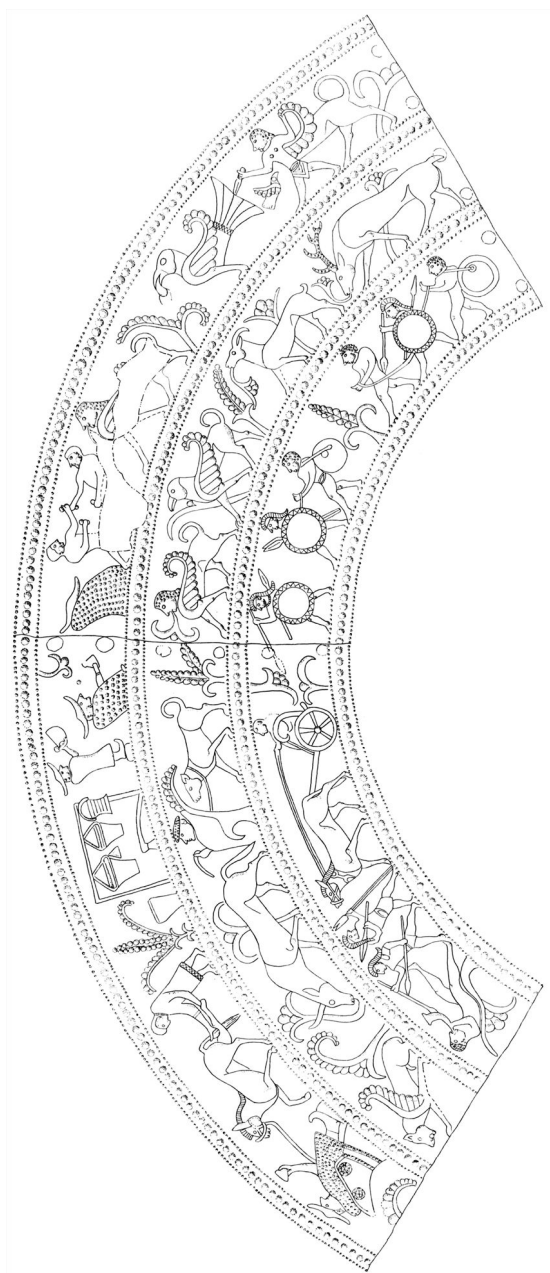


Figure 7.24 Situla from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65)

very fine twill and coloured brown and red, with tablet-woven decorative borders in blue and purple, respectively. This is one of the earliest instances of the long-term tradition to reserve the colour purple for rulers.

Footwear of the early Iron Age is often not specifically depicted. The aforementioned man with cloak from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), definitely wears pointed shoes or boots with a sloping instep and a flat tapered point. In other depictions on Situla Art the foot is of a similar fashion, but it remains unclear if footwear is worn at all. *Schnabelschuhe* first appear in the Etruscan area and become popular farther north in the early La Tène period, where several *fibulae* are shaped in this shoe form (Bagley 2009, Pauli 1978: 217, fig. 11, 630–631, fig. 52), and shoe lasts have been found, too (at Sommerein, Austria, Neugebauer 1980).

7.8.3 Warriors' outfits

The early Iron Age warrior – at least south and southeast of the Alps – wears a helmet, of which a range of different shapes and forms were in existence and represented in art. From images alone, it is sometimes not easy to decide if a person wears a helmet or some other kind of hat. When in doubt, headwear was interpreted as a helmet when it co-occurred with other weaponry. Of the 299 helmets worn by persons, 182 are crested; the shape of helmets ranges from round to conical, with a minority of helmets shown as brimmed. Unusual are the depictions of horned helmets found on the *situla* of Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992: app. 2), and the La Tène stone monument of Bormio, Italy (Pauli 1973).

Four different kinds of warriors on the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), wear helmets with a short brim (Negau type), helmets plated with bronze calottes (*Schüsselhelm*), crested helmets with tails (*Doppelkammhelme*) and conical helmets similar to the helmet of Oppeano, Italy (Huth 2003: pl. 78.2, Pigorini 1878). A similar march of infantry with crested helmets followed by warriors with conical helmets takes up the middle frieze of the *situla* in Providence (Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1). Fighting warriors on the *situlae* of Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992), and Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: 65), wear crested helmets. Two mounted warriors are shown in close combat on the belt plate of Vače, Slovenia (Turk 2005: fig. 58). The warrior with hair, apparently without a helmet, fights with a lance, whereas the opponent,



Figure 7.25 Men's dress according to images on *situlae*, from Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria, Welzelach, Austria, Montebelluna, Italy, Magdalenska gora, Slovenia, Molnik, Slovenia, and Este-Benvenuti, Italy (after references cited in the text)

fighting with an axe, wears a brimmed helmet. Both are flanked by warriors with shields and lances.

Helmets are frequently represented as trophies between the contestants of sport and music competitions; they seemed to have played a role as prestige objects (cf. Schumann 2015: 202–203, 212–213) in the Hallstatt period. As such, they were part of the fluid dynamics of negotiating prestige. On the *situla* of Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 2), a seated lyre player wears a helmet – perhaps he is shown at the point when he has already won the music competition. Other musicians, however, notably the flute players from the *situla* of Welzelach, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 76), play marching, wearing a helmet. Their hands are already occupied by the instrument, of course, and there is no other way of showing warrior's attributes. Many helmets of the Hallstatt area were found in isolation (cf. Egg 1986b, Gabrovec 1962–63), but helmets found in the closed contexts of graves were usually found with further rich grave goods.

The garments warriors wear on their bodies are often hidden behind the shield they carry. The briefest form of dress is the belt and loincloth, depicted on a hybrid and a number of warriors on the lower friezes of the *situla* from Este-Benvenuti (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65). In this mode of depiction, the genitals of the otherwise naked people are covered, which is rather unusual for the early Iron Age. The hem of short skirts or tunics sometimes shows beneath the shield, with its striped pattern pointing to pleats, which ensure extra freedom of movement. The garment may also represent part of a full-body armour of organic material such as leather or textiles, as shown on the belt plate of Vače, Slovenia (Fig. 7.26, Turk 2005: fig. 58), for all four warriors. Similar body protection is visible on the La Tène period warriors of the Hallstatt sword scabbard (Barth and Urban 2007, Egg, Hauschild and Schönfelder 2006) and on both the stone statue and bronze figurine from the Glauberg, Germany (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002).

Corselets made of sheet bronze were also in use during the Hallstatt period. They mimic the muscle physique and body features such as nipples; the shiny and smooth appearance of the metal surely contributed to the striking appearance of the warrior. In cremation graves, for instance the Kröllkogel at Kleinklein, Austria (Egg and Kramer 2005: 33, Egg and Kramer 2013), a metal corselet may have

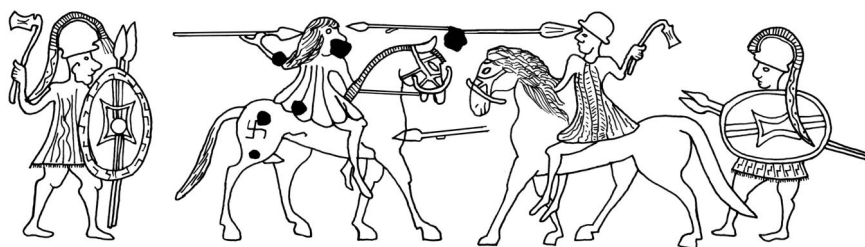


Figure 7.26 Figurative scene on the belt plate of Vače, Slovenia (after photo and Turk 2005: fig. 58)

been added to reconstitute the body surface and provide a skin for the deceased. Metal corselets have been found as far west as Marmesse, France (Mohen 1987), where six complete late Bronze Age body armours were deposited near a river source, and Saint-Germain-du-Plain, France (Merhart 1969), where a single early Iron Age example was found in the River Saône. Further corselets of the early Iron Age were found in graves in the southeast Alpine area (Kleinklein, Stična and Novo mesto, Hansen 2003: 11).

7.8.4 Weaponry

Archaeological finds of the Hallstatt warriors' weaponry in graves comprises a sword/dagger in the west and lances plus an axe in the east (see Section 3.1), occasionally complemented by other types of weaponry such as a bow and arrow. The body of early Iron Age imagery includes 315 individuals depicted with weapons that may be employed for warfare or hunting (Fig. 7.27).

Of those, only 22 wear swords; swords are combined with lances in 11 cases, with shields in 13 cases and with helmets and horses in four cases. The swords are generally short. They are held upright in a sword fight or dance on the *klinē* of Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a: pl. 26), whereas some of the swords on the sheet metal work of Sesto Calende, Italy (Plate 14, Huth 2003: pl. 52), are fastened to a belt. This is also the way in which they are shown on the sword scabbard of Hallstatt, Austria (Barth and Urban 2007). Swords are generally worn on the right side, in contrast to the way Greeks and Etruscans wear swords, although it is sometimes difficult to decide from images in profile. This is consistent with historical sources about the Celts and archaeological finds (e.g., Grave 994 of Hallstatt, Austria, Kromer 1959b: 183), in which swords are most frequently deposited next to the right side of the body. The dagger shown on the stele from Hirschlanden (Plate 1, Zürn 1970: pl. A) is worn obliquely at the front of the body, with the handle close to the right hand, whereas the later warrior from the Glauberg, Germany (Herrmann 2002: fig. 12b), wears his dagger/short sword at the right side of the body. The hare hunter from Welzelach, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 76), similarly seems to wear his short sword/dagger on the right side of his waist.

It is hard to distinguish short swords from daggers and daggers from knives on images alone. In connection to (ritual) killing and sacrifice, both a dagger and axe are shown killing an animal from behind at Appiano, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62). The hybrid being from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), strikes a giant bird from the back in a similar composition. Two persons shown in opposition fight with short swords or daggers on the vase from Este-Casa Alfonsi, Italy (Frey 1969: pl. 69). Further images of daggers/knives on pottery come from Sopron, Hungary. At Sopron-Váris (Teržan 1996: fig. 15), a sharp object may either represent a distaff or spindle, or a dagger/knife to cut wool (although other interpretations include the sacrifice of a bird or forging, cf. Kern 2009d). At Sopron-Várhely, one of the pairs of people dancing/fighting in trousers may handle such a weapon (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29). In summary, swords, daggers and knives are not the most common object in the human representations.

This is consistent with the distribution of the objects as such. In the West Hallstatt area, they are the leading weapon types, but human images are rare, whereas in the eastern area, where images are plentiful, lances and axes prevail.

The lance or spear accompanies at least 183 individuals. The term lance is preferred in this book, as the items are normally referred to as *Lanze* in the German literature. *Lanze*, in German, denotes a thrusting weapon rather than a throwing weapon (*Speer*). The English language distinction of lance for cavalry and spear for infantry is not useful for the early Iron Age, as the same weapon is used by persons on foot and on horseback. The weapons are thrown in the depiction of the ship battle of Nesactium, Croatia (Fig. 7.46, Mihovilić 1992), and thrust from horseback on the belt plate from Vače, Slovenia (Turk 2005: fig. 58), for example; warriors on foot right next to the riders seem to supply them with additional lances. Archaeologically, lances and spears cannot be securely distinguished, although differences in size have been recorded. It remains certain that a metal tip on a stick is a useful multi-purpose tool for thrusting, stabbing and throwing, on foot and on horseback, in war, for hunting and killing animals. The lance appears as a long vertical or oblique line in two-dimensional images; in three-dimensional human representations, it is an object frequently lost. The lance is often combined with the shield (in 129 cases) or the helmet (129). Warriors with lances are mainly marching on foot, and 38 are mounted on horses.

In six cases, the lance is combined with the axe. The axe is an interesting object, as it occurs with civilians and warriors in the contexts of war and sacrifice, but also as a symbol of power. Of the 91 depictions of persons with axes, 63 use them as a weapon and 28 as a tool. On the belt plate from Vače, Slovenia (Turk 2005: fig. 58), one warrior complete with crested helmet, shield and a pair of lances raises an axe whilst marching in battle; another mounted warrior fights with an axe against another horseman equipped with a lance. The image of a warrior with helmet, shield and raised axe also appears on the vase of Este-Casa Alfonsi, Italy (Frey 1969: pl. 69). At Kleinklein, Austria, the motif of the warrior with shield and axe is rendered in point-boss technique (Dobiat 1980: 375), as well as multiple times as small bronze punches, where the warrior is characterised as male by the erect penis and shown marching with raised axe and a crested helmet (Prüssing 1991: 350, 351). The axe is carried, casually hung over the shoulder, in many scenes of civilians travelling to a feast. That it was also a symbol of power is clearly indicated by the axe hung over the bed of the couple having sex on the *situlae* of Sanzeno and Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 31, 67). The axe is further central to the ritual slaughter of animals, in particular stags (see Section 7.10.2).

The bow and arrow appears primarily in the context of hunting. Only in the ship battle scene from Nesactium, Croatia, are bows and arrows used alongside the ubiquitous lances in warfare (Mihovilić 1992).

Shields are the most important part of defensive weaponry in addition to the helmets and body armour discussed earlier. There are 179 warriors carrying shields, nearly all of whom (169) also wear a helmet. The remaining images, for the most part, are incomplete and miss the head. Twenty shield bearers are

mounted on horses. Shields are most often oval, although round shields occur occasionally. The *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), shows three shapes of shields: oval, oval-rectangular and circular, underlining the different origins of the warriors.

Weaponry is a defining element of the masculine warrior identity. In some rare cases, however, warrior elements are borrowed by females to express a particular part of their identity. In this light, we can understand depictions of warrior women and goddesses: the Amazons depicted on a Greek vase in the tomb of Vix, France (Rolley 2003: pl. 12), or the Minerva figurines from the sanctuaries of Este-Baratella, Italy (Chieco Bianchi 2002).

7.8.5 Horses: men's best friends

Horses play an important role in the lives of the elite in all regions of the early Iron Age (cf. Dietz 2008, Koch 2006, Rebay-Salisbury in press-b). As riding, pack and draft animals, companions for hunting and partners in sport, they are also status symbols, not least because the keeping and training of horses require considerable resources. A large number of persons (594, 19 per cent) are associated with horses in early Iron Age imagery. This includes riders sitting on a horse (446),

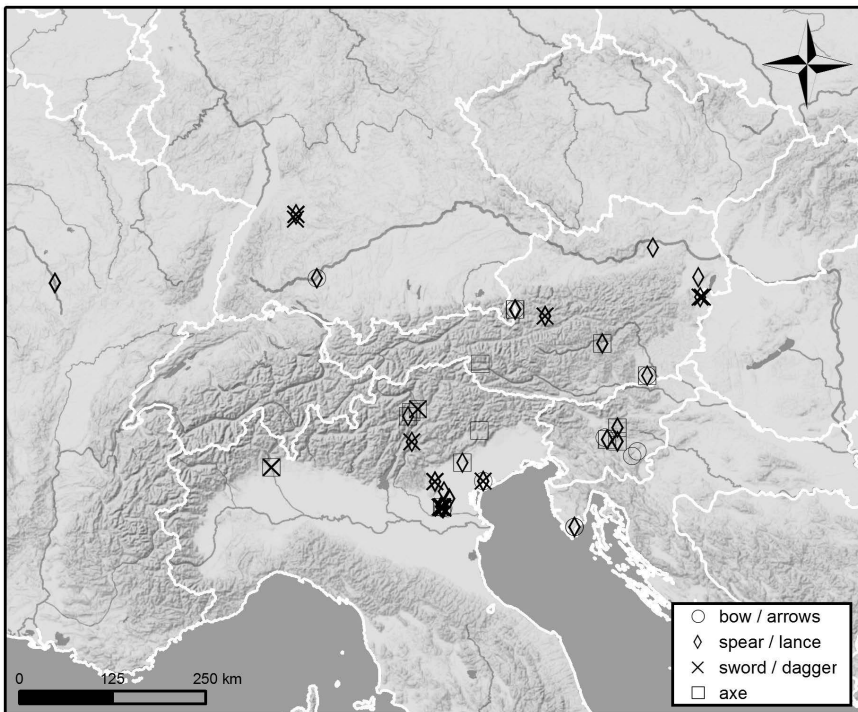


Figure 7.27 Weapon types in conjunction with human representations

men training and leading horses on reins, and drivers of chariots and wagons. Many images come from Slovenia and the Italian region of Veneto, where horse breeding and training has a long tradition until the present day. Strabo reports that horses were branded:

... and the wolf, when set free, drove off a considerable herd of unbranded horses and brought them to the steading of the man who was fond of giving bail; and the man who received the favour not only branded all the mares with a wolf, but also called them the 'wolf-breed' – mares exceptional for speed rather than beauty; and his successors kept not only the brand but also the name for the breed of the horses, and made it a custom not to sell a mare to outsiders, in order that the genuine breed might remain in their family alone, since horses of that breed had become famous. But, at the present time, as I was saying, the practice of horse-breeding has wholly disappeared.

(Strabo, Geography V, 1.9, translated by H. L. Jones)

The training of horses is captured in beautiful detail on the mirror of Castelvetro, Italy (Fig. 7.18, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 21). Three men, each with a horse, make up the scene. The first is standing to the left side of the horse with the right arm over the horse's withers. He teaches the horse to bend the neck on the reins, which is emphasised by showing the horse's head from the front, a very unusual way of depicting horses. The horse is walking in pace, the two legs of the same side of the horse moving forward together; this horse gait occurs naturally for some breeds, especially harness racers, but may also be specially taught (Harris 1993: 50). The second man leads a horse on long reins from behind. The fact that only the right long rein is depicted and corresponds to the horseman's stretched out hand points to lunging. In this classic horse training exercise the horse is asked to respond to the commands given by the trainer on the ground, walking at the end of a long line at some distance. Again, the horse walks in pace. The third horseman walks in front of the harnessed horse and leads it. This most likely depicts the fully trained horse. The horse training scenes of the central European Iron Age appear just a little earlier than the oldest horse training manual, written by the Athenian historian and soldier Xenophon (c. 430–354 BC) (Xenophon n.d. [1962]).

The quality control of a horse seems to be a topic of the *situla* from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65): a man seated on a throne holds the reins of a horse, whilst another man inspects its hind leg. The height at the withers of an average horse was around 130 cm (Benecke 1994: 113–114); the animal bone evidence (Bökönyi 1968) suggests that several different breeds of different sizes existed. Eastern horses of the nomadic cultures of the steppes had stronger legs and were larger, whereas western horses tended to be smaller. Both types of horses seem to be shown in the battle scene on the belt plate from Vače, Slovenia (Fig. 7.26, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 55, Powell 1971).

Relationships to nomadic peoples such as the Cimmerian and Scythians influenced the development of bridles and horse gear in the Hallstatt area (e.g., Kromer 1986, Metzner-Nebelsick 1998, Metzner-Nebelsick 2002) from the ninth and

eight centuries BC onwards. Despite some exceptions (Dular 2007), horses are not normally deposited in early Iron Age graves. Horse gear and wagon parts, however, are frequently discovered in high-status graves. Grave 11 from Mindelheim, Germany (Kossack 1954a), and the burial mound at Hochdorf, Germany (Koch 2006), are good examples for early and late Iron Age wagon graves, from which bridles could be reconstructed. Bridles and reins are often shown in extraordinary detail on Situla Art. They include frontbands, browbands and nosebands; central to the depictions are the bent cheek-pieces. It is not possible to tell from the bridle alone if the horse was used as a riding or draft animal, although paired bridles indicate a pair of horses and thus constitute the *pars pro toto* of a wagon.

Travelling with horses often occurred on foot. Horses are depicted in the midst of processions of several men, led behind by the reins (e.g., Magdalenska gora, Slovenia, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 3) or walking in front on long reins. The *situla* from Novo mesto-Kandija, Slovenia, shows one horse in the frieze with a palmette ornament on the back that may imply a pack saddle (Knez 1986: app. 3). Several ways of travelling with horses are depicted together on the *situlae* of Vače (Fig. 7.28, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73) and Dolenjske Toplice, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 195, fig. 4), and Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep): horses on the long and short rein, men on horseback and travellers in various forms of vehicles.

On *situlae*, there are two main forms of vehicles: chariots and wagons. Chariots are light vehicles with spoked wheels, a square or D-shaped platform measuring approximately one metre by one metre and with railings made of bent wood on either side or, alternatively, a D-shaped balustrade covering the front and sides of the box. The chariot has place for a driver and a passenger, both of whom stand on the vehicle. Of Near Eastern origin, chariots were adopted in Europe around the early to middle Bronze Age (Pare 1989: 81). They appear in graves in Etruria and Picenum around 800–600 BC. Image sources suggest that they were around, but did not play a significant role in funerary practices north of the Alps before the early La Tène period, when chariots replaced the central European four-wheeled wagons. Archaeological finds of chariots cluster in Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany, and Champagne, France (Schönfelder 2000: 44), but warriors were buried on early La Tène chariots in other regions, for instance, the warrior of Grave 44/2 from Dürrenberg, Austria (Penninger 1972: 76).

Chariots were used for travelling, racing and in warfare. Passengers could easily hop on and off the chariot even when in motion. The *situla* from Dolenjske Toplice, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 195, fig. 4), has captured the passenger in motion, with one foot abreast of the platform, holding on to the railing. Only in Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), is a woman shown as the passenger. Chariot racing, of course, is done without a passenger. In war, although nowhere directly depicted in Situla Art, the chariot seems to have been employed as a ‘battle taxi’, driving the warrior to and from battle and for representation (Schönfelder 2002: 326). The chariot driver from Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992: app. 2), appears as a civilian, although he features in the same frieze as the

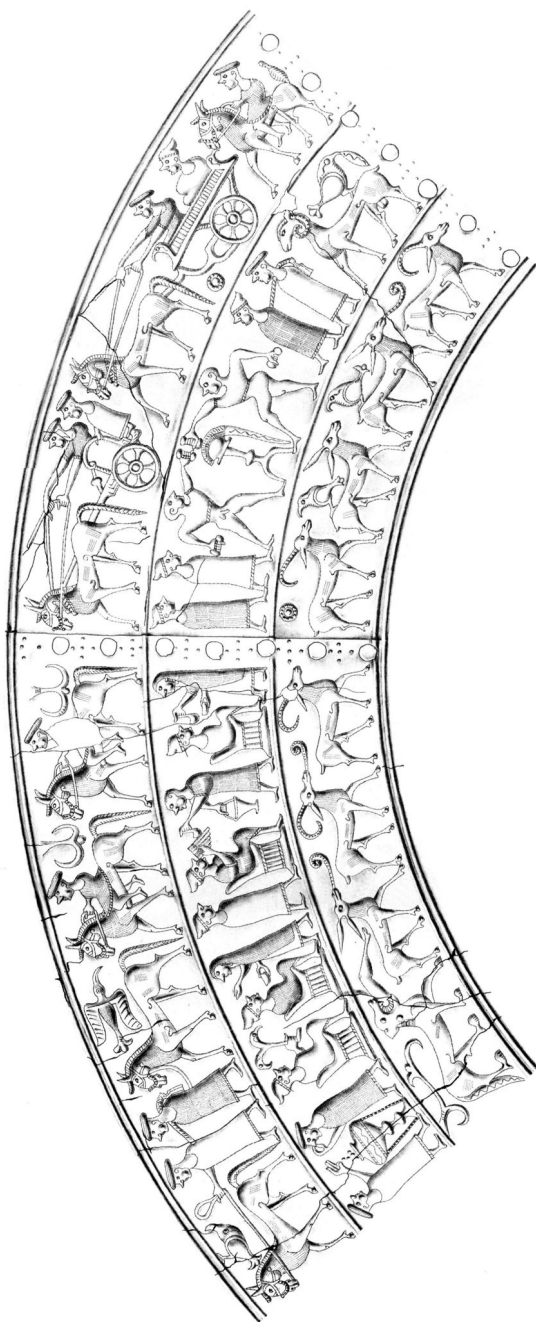


Figure 7.28 The *situla* of Vače, Slovenia (Starè 1955: app. 1, drawing by France Starè
© Narodni muzej Slovenije)

ship battle scene (unfortunately the connection between the ship battle and the chariot driver is missing).

The other main form of wheeled vehicle is the wagon, with an ornate rectangular wagon box supported by two or four wheels. It is intended for drivers and passengers to sit down and can transport up to four persons (on the *situla* from Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Križ 1997b: app. 3). Wagons are a characteristic feature of the West Hallstatt elite burial rite, in which members of the elite were interred in rectangular wooden grave chambers under mounds (see Chapter 4). About 260 wagon graves have been discovered in the main area of distribution north of the Alps from Burgundy to Bohemia and Upper Austria, among which are also a number of women's burials (cf. Metzner-Nebelsick 2009: 250). In the east, where cremation was dominant, only a few wagons have been found (e.g., Somlóvásárhely, Hungary, Stettweg, Austria, Egg 1996a, Egg 1996b). Representations of four-wheeled wagons are almost mutually exclusive (Pare 1987: 212–223) to actual findings of the same vehicles in graves.

The decoration of the wagon boxes frequently includes references to the bird motif, which had tremendous popularity in the late Bronze Age, and continued ritual significance in the early Iron Age. The wagon from Mechel, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 28.11), is perhaps closest to the sun–bird–boat motif, which embodies the journey of the sun through day and night and the journey of the dead to the afterlife (Wirth 2006, Wirth 2010b). A reference to the afterlife makes most sense when the wagon is employed in a funerary procession or to transport people to feast in honour of the dead.

Four-wheeled wagons in turned perspective decorate the back of the bronze *klinē* from Hochdorf, Germany (Plate 16, Biel 1985a), but here the wagon seems to be part of a battle. Although the long object in the hand of the person standing on the wagon may be read as a goad, the shield suggests a military context. Images of wagons, simply sketched on pottery, occur as far north as the urns of Pomerania, Poland (Kneisel 2012, La Baume 1950). Two vessels from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Bella 1894: fig. 11, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29), depict persons on top of the wagon box, whilst another person walks behind it. A parallel to these images has recently been found on the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), where a captive or slave in shackles follows the wagon of the travelling people. The demonstration of victory and social difference seems to lie at the heart of these images.

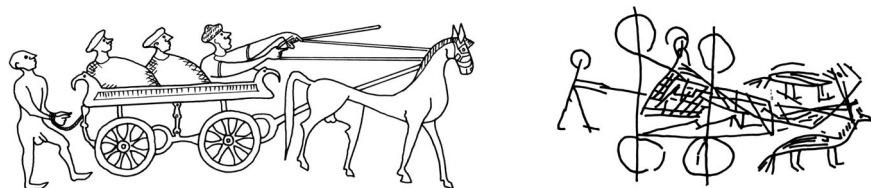


Figure 7.29 Travelling with captives, on the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy, and Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (after Bianchin Citton in prep, Eibner-Persy 1980)

Riding horses is a popular stand-alone motif in early Iron Age art. In context (see Section 7.10), the rider takes part in travels, sports, hunts and warfare. Horses never wear saddles. Presumably they were indeed ridden bareback, though saddles complete with a wooden saddle tree, padded cushions and felted covers dating to the fifth century BC have been unearthed from the frozen tombs of Pazyryk in Siberia (Rudenko 1970) and were known by the Scythians. There is solid evidence for the use of crops and whips as riding aids. On the belt plate from Magdalenska gora (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 41b), for example, a rider is shown with a turned upper body just as he uses a forked whip on the horse's hindquarters.

Horses were instrumental to a whole range of high-status activities in the early Iron Age and important for the construction and enactment of male identity. Clearly, they were highly valued. Nevertheless, how far did a possible emotive connection between elite men and their 'best friends' go? Not beyond death, it seems. Horse burials are rare exceptions in the early Iron Age Hallstatt area (see Chapter 4). At the end of their lives, horses were likely eaten. The butchering patterns from Iron Age settlements such as the Heuneburg and Manching, Germany, show similarities to other domestic animals, and the age of the slaughtered animals suggests they were eaten after their use (Müller, Kaenel and Lüscher 1999: 121).

Besides, is there a case to be made for the dog as the Hallstatt man's companion? Dogs do not feature largely in early Iron Age imagery (but see Koch 2012), but they do accompany the horseback-mounted hunter carrying bow and arrow (see Section 7.10.2). Many hunting scenes with horses also include some small four-legged animals that may be dogs. Dogs appear quite large in relation to people in some scenes and cross the borders between wolf and beast, for example, on the belt plates from Stična, Slovenia (Fig. 7.36, Gabrovec et al. 2006: 268, fig. 71, Turk 2005: 71). However, dogs are not exclusively associated with men; the votive plate from Montebelluna, Italy (Marzatico 2004: 225), displays a woman with a key and dog. Along with the key, the dog may represent guardianship over the household. In the Hallstatt period, dogs were companions, guards and perhaps even sacrifices (Ramming 2012).

7.9 Postures, gestures and movement

Body positions and gestures are a mix of innate and cultural expressions (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 218). A finite number of body positions are anatomically possible, and some are quite clearly associated with particular actions, movement or rest. Body positions may be infused with specific, culturally contingent meanings that vary in time and space; kneeling, for instance, expresses submission and prayer in the western cultural context, whereas lying flat on the ground may be a fitting response to a threat in some situations. Even the body position that is commonly assumed during sleep is culturally contingent, although all people have a biological need to sleep. In Ancient Egypt from c. 1800 BC, for example, people slept with headrests made of wood, bone or stone; they keep the

head well aired and cool and can be traced over the *longue durée* in western Africa until recent times. Sleeping in a reclining, half-seated position was common in the early modern period in Europe and is the primary reason why beds appear incredibly short to modern eyes – people did not fully stretch out while sleeping.

Gestures are ‘visible bodily actions’ (Kendon 2004: 1) that, similar to spoken language, have the purpose of communication and may complement or substitute words. Desmond Morris and colleagues (1979: xvi) differentiate between ‘illustrators’ and ‘emblems’, accompanying and replacing verbal statements, respectively. Visible body actions also underline changes of postures, movements and activities; the categories of posture, gesture, action and movement therefore blend into each other. Early Iron Age images only capture a snapshot of this blend. Particularly, images in profile do not allow a secure distinction between static and moving images; it is unclear if a person depicted in profile is standing or walking, for instance, as in both cases, the feet are shown just a little apart. The body position therefore already includes an element of interpretation, as their reading depends on the context.

7.9.1 Postures

Body postures that can be differentiated from early Iron Age images include standing, sitting, lying and kneeling. The overwhelming majority of persons ($n = 2117$ of 3148, 67 per cent) are depicted in a standing position. Of these, most are pictured from the front ($n = 992$, 47 per cent) and virtually equal numbers from the left ($n = 378$, 18 per cent) and right ($n = 376$, 18 per cent) side. A similar number ($n = 369$, 17 per cent) are three-dimensional images. Most stand on the ground, which is assumed rather than depicted. Very few stand on horseback ($n = 7$), for example, on the vessel from Beilngries-Im Ried West, Germany (Torbrügge 1968: no. 246), but the simplicity of the mode of depiction may actually indicate a person sitting on a horse. Conversely, horse acrobatics are also attested, particularly in the context of Eurasian nomads. Standing on a chariot, a two-wheeled vehicle with a platform for the driver and passenger, is depicted 24 times. All 19 drivers of chariots are male, but amongst the five passengers, there is also one female standing (on the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy, Bianchin Citton in prep).

The standing position includes a number of more specific body positions. Most common is the orant posture, which requires both arms to be stretched out and up. In this position, the elbows are bent to varying degrees, depending on the mode of depiction, but both arms and hands are rendered symmetrically. If fingers and hands are shown at all, the palms face up or the fingers are spread. The orant posture was the common posture of praying and pleading in prehistory, Antiquity and early Christianity. With $n = 888$ instances, the orant gesture is found with 28 per cent of all human images. Whereas a connection to the sacred seems likely in most cases, not least because the context of images is primarily funerary or ritual, its precise meaning is situational and hence difficult to access. The gesture may be employed to express mourning for the dead or praying for specific divine intervention. Sometimes, for instance, at Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy

1980), the orant gesture is combined with dancing (with or without the depiction of musical instruments), an activity that occurs in the context of feasting on many occasions, including funerals. The gender of the orant is often female ($n = 103$, 12 per cent) rather than male ($n = 27$, 3 per cent), though it cannot be determined in the majority of cases ($n = 755$, 85 per cent). The typical orant is dressed ($n = 258$, 29 per cent) rather than naked ($n = 22$, 2 per cent), but again, for most figures it cannot be determined with certainty if they were dressed or not. Some orants seem to be touching their heads, for example, at Langenlebern, Austria (Preinfalk 2003), and Frög, Austria (Tomedi 2002); these images invoke notions of biblical expressions of grief such as tearing one's hair out or sprinkling the hair with ashes.

Another position related to the divine is that of the dedicator, offering food and drink to the gods. In Italian sanctuaries, for example, Este (Ruta Serafini 2002), the persons offering are depicted with a small bowl or vessel in one hand. Both women and men are amongst the 59 offerers. The ritual of pouring liquid as an offering to a god or in memory of the dead is also referred to as libation. Consuming and offering food and drink during ritual and religious feasts was commonplace in the early Iron Age. In Ancient Greece, libations were part of daily life and religious practice, done habitually with every meal (Muir 1985: 194–195). Wine and oil were commonly offered at funerals in Ancient Rome (Scheid 2008: 269). Central European images of people pouring liquid with bowls and ladles are therefore also often interpreted in that light, although drinks are clearly served to people in the first instance, at least on *situla* images. Ladling drink from a large vessel and serving it to participants of the feast is done by women (12) and men (13) in equal measures, whereas mixing and spicing the drink is an exclusively male domain. Related to the theme of consuming/offering drinks is the gesture of carrying vessels. On *situlae*, it is often the women who carry cists on their heads to the feast; particularly large vessels are sometimes carried by two men with their hands or shouldered on a carrying rod (e.g., Bologna-Certosa, Italy, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64). Carrying a vessel in front of the body is more unusual, although, as we have seen, north of the area of *situla* production, the image of the lyre transforms into an object that may equally be read as a vessel (Section 6.5).

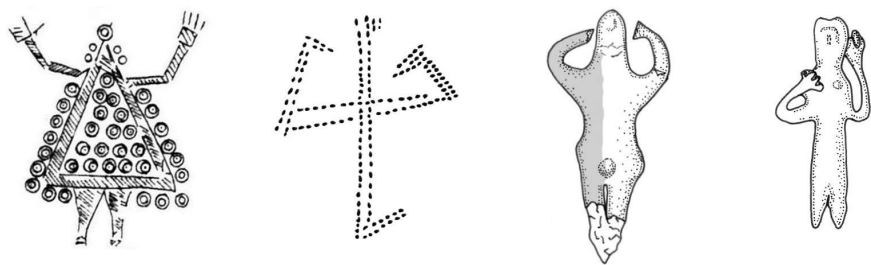


Figure 7.30 Orants, from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary, Schirndorf, Germany, Langenlebern, Austria, Frög, Austria (after Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 17, Preinfalk 2003, Tomedi 2002: pl. 94, Torbrügge 1968: no. 248)

Figurines that seem to be carrying something, with the ‘something’ being absent, are, for instance, known from Schirndorf, Germany (Stroh 2000a: pl. 9), and Leibnitz, Austria (Szameit 1983: fig. 336).

The body position of the dumb-bell fighter (see also Section 7.11.1, with references) is a specific instance of the standing position. There are always two persons placed in opposition; they face each other and create an almost identical mirror image; in between the opponents or above them, a helmet or other object may be shown as the trophy to be earned. In the classic version of the image, the naked and bald persons grip the dumb-bells with their hands; one arm is stretched outwards at the opponent, and the other arm is held back behind the body. To show the nudity in its full glory, the left sportsman normally uses his left arm for the strike and balances the body with the left leg set forward and bent at the knee. The right leg is braced backwards for stability. The dumb-bell fighter is thus shown in semi-profile, turned slightly towards the viewer. His opponent stands antithetically, turned slightly away from the viewer, again with the left arm and leg forward. Variations of this classic image include the dumb-bell fighters shown on the *situla* of Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), in which the opponents have both arms stretched towards each other.

Outside the immediate genre of the *situla* images, the dumb-bell fighter occurs as a single depicted person. There are, however, also a number of antithetical pairs of persons on pottery, sheet bronze and even in rock art, which are drawn in the same or similar body position as the dumb-bell fighters. They are standing facing each other, with one leg set forward, the other braced to the ground; the hands are holding objects that are less straightforward to interpret – shields, swords, weapons or nothing at all – in these instances, the couples appear to be holding hands. As discussed later, the antithetical body position is one of the instances where the frame of an image is imported, but the content changes. The specifics of the sport may not have been translated into all cultural contexts and the image turned into a fighting or dancing scene.

The persons depicted in sitting position ($n = 545$, 17 per cent) are primarily riders who sit on horseback ($n = 446$, 82 per cent of the sitting persons). A few ($n = 21$, 4 per cent) are sitting in a wagon, and some ($n = 53$, 10 per cent) are seated on a throne, chair or other piece of furniture. Wooden thrones of round shape with backrests and armrests, often beautifully decorated with wood carvings, are known from the Etruscan area; most famous is perhaps the throne from Tomba 89, Verucchio-La Rocca, Italy (Gentili 2003: fig. 59), which depicts a whole sequence of textile work. These thrones are depicted on *Situla* Art, for instance, on the *situla* Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), or the *tintinnabulo* from Bologna, Italy (Plate 4, Morigi Govi 1971). East Alpine versions are a little less elaborate and include backrests, but no armrests (shown on the *situla* in Providence or the *situla* of Vače, Slovenia, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1, pl. 73). Thrones, according to Alexandrine Eibner’s definition, also include footstools (Eibner 2012b: 42, Eibner 2013), which may be simple and flat, but variants with feet are also known. They elevate the seated person to (almost) the level of a standing person, which makes almost all people depicted on *situlae*

appear the same height, regardless of whether they are sitting or standing. A bench that seats two people (named *bisellium* and most likely carved of wood, cf. Eibner 2013: 467) is depicted on the *situla* Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), and the *klinē* from Hochdorf, Germany, may also fall into that category (Plate 16, Jung 2007). It has enough space for one person to lie down, as demonstrated by the fact that the deceased was buried lying on top of the *klinē*. In the Mediterranean world, however, the *klinē* is comparable to a daybed, a surface to lie on with an elevated head/backrest. This type of furniture is rather uncommon in the Hallstatt area. The fragmented nature of the images on *situla* suggest there may have been many more seated persons, who cannot be matched to the depictions of furniture or vehicles. In the depictions of sitting people, the right side is definitely favoured. Fifty-five depictions are three-dimensional: only four are shown from the front (whereas their horse is always shown from the side); 97 (18 per cent) from the left and 388 (71 per cent) from the right.

Persons sitting on a horse and in a wagon are always male. A few women are amongst the people seated on chairs or thrones, for example, the women engaged in sexual activities seated on thrones from Brezje, Slovenia (Plate 12, Barth 1999), or Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013). The female and sexless persons from Turska kosa, Croatia (Balen-Letunić 2004), are sometimes depicted in a seated position, although it remains unclear what they were seated on, if they were seated on anything at all. Similarly, the anthropomorphic pendant from Hellbrunnerberg, Austria (Stöllner 1996–2002: 316, pl. 82, fig. 85), has both the arms and legs in rather unusual positions: bent at the elbows and knees and pointing down. Depictions of sitting on the floor, with the legs straight, knees bent or cross-legged are extremely rare. The body position of the two stone statues of Vix-Les Herbues, France (Chaume and Reinhard 2003), are unique in that they depict two persons sitting or rather leaning on to a wall, with their knees bent and feet on the floor. One warrior has the shield drawn against the knees, whereas the other seated person wears a torc and a long, plain dress covering the legs. The cross-legged or tailor-style posture becomes more common in the late Iron Age, for example, on the beak-spouted flagon from the Glauberg, Germany (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002: fig. 236), or the Gundestrup cauldron (Olmsted 1979).

Kneeling is a body position in which the body weight is either supported by both knees on the ground or one knee and one foot. Whereas in our cultural context, the kneeling position is associated with praying and showing submission, early Iron Age contexts of kneeling are primarily hunting and sex. The hunters on the belt plates from Molnik, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 197, fig. 7), or Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska, Slovenia (Križ 1997b: app. 4), are shown in a lunge, in which one leg is positioned forward with the knee bent and foot flat on the ground and the other leg is positioned behind. Less explicit versions of the same body position shown from the side with the feet wide apart are, for example, the hunters from Dürrenberg-Eisfeld, Austria (Moser 2010: 106). The kneeling position seems to embody quietly approaching the prey and at the same time expresses the active alertness required for hunting. Herein perhaps lies the communality of hunting

and sex. The men engaged in sexual activities on the belt plate from Brezje, Slovenia (Plate 12, Barth 1999), and the *situla* from Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013), kneel in front of women seated or bent forward.

The 17 people depicted in lying positions are rare and occur in specific contexts. First and foremost, they are men and women having sex in the missionary position, with the woman lying on her back on a bed, with the man on top. The women have one or both legs bent at the knee to show the action even more clearly. The elaborate furniture on which the sexual act takes place underlines the high-status context; the beds have a wooden frame, often beautifully carved and decorated, and are padded with a thick mattress. Foot stools are placed in front of the bed in the scenes from Sanzeno, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: 67), and Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep); the depiction of Montebelluna places the bed underneath a metal frame window. Feasting people are depicted in standing or sitting position in the Hallstatt area; the only reclining person is the man in the belt buckle from Carceri, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: 60, Fig. 5.1), who is being served a drink whilst lying on what appears to be sofa or *klinē*. Evidence for imported Mediterranean furniture, such as a Greek *klinē*, comes from elite graves of the West Hallstatt area (e.g., Grafenbühl, Germany, Fischer 1990). Today, only small pieces of their decoration remain, and it is unclear to what extent such pieces influenced the 'sitting culture' of the Hallstatt world.

Lying down otherwise indicates defeat and death. On the *situla* Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), the person blowing the horn whilst being stabbed by a lance appears to be falling backward; a person lying on the ground is being trampled to death by the horses of mounted warriors on the sword scabbard of Hallstatt, Austria (Barth and Urban 2007). A recent restoration of the *situla* from Novo Mesto, Slovenia (Egg and Lehnert 2011), brought another gruesome scene to light, in which two warriors raise their axes over a shackled man lying between them. He seems to be facing execution. An isolated head, towards the left and underneath a rider, has already been chopped off another unfortunate victim. Similarly, a person (or corpse) is shown falling backwards from a ship into the sea in the battle scene from Nesactium, Croatia (Fig. 7.46, Mihovilić 1992). Persons in a lying or floating position are the ones being swallowed by giant fish on the cist of Kleinklein, Austria (Fig. 7.31, Prüssing 1991: pl. 109, Schmid 1933: pl. 1b). Two are swallowed feet first, one head first in this gruesome scene. The image is particularly noteworthy as in the landlocked, Alpine area the cist was found there is no particular danger of being eaten by a fish. The image may be traced to a late geometric Greek model, such as an Ischian *kratēr* (Boardman 1998: 53, fig. 161).

Although dying was depicted, images of dead people seem to be absent in the Hallstatt world. *Prothesis*, the lying in repose, was not captured by early Iron Age artists the same way as was common in early Greek vase painting (e.g., Boardman 1998: fig. 44–47). Only the sheet bronze face and hand masks found in Kleinklein, Austria (Plate 13, Lessing 1980: fig. 1), may point to this practice, although the exact use of these masks is disputed (Egg and Kramer 2005); with a height of 19 cm, the face mask seems too small to cover the deceased's face.

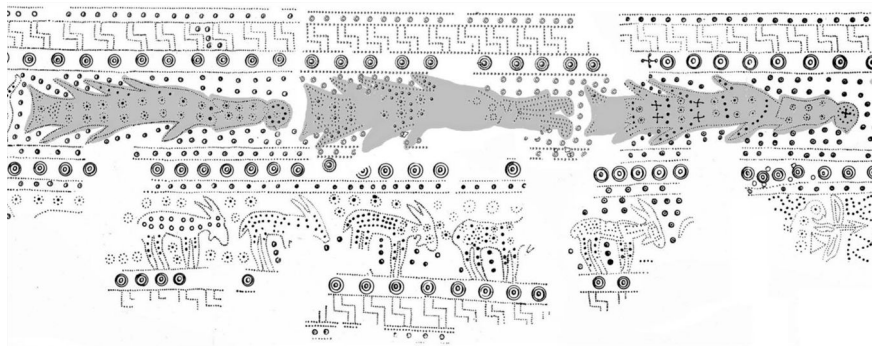


Figure 7.31 Man-eating fish at Kleinklein, Austria (after Prüssing 1991: pl. 109, Schmid 1933: pl. 1b)

7.9.2 *Gestures*

The positioning of arms and hands allows for further bodily expressions. They again incorporate both innate and cultural meanings. The defensive gesture, with arms raised and palms turned outward, for instance, is universally understandable. The hand as an apotropaic symbol in its own right (see Section 7.3) might have developed from it (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 218). In a major study mapping 20 common gestures across 40 European locations in the 1970s, Desmond Morris and colleagues (Morris et al. 1979) concluded that most gestures were widespread, but were linked to several meanings, some of which were more local than the gesture itself. Others had more than one, and sometimes conflicting meanings in the same region. The boundaries of gesture distributions tended to stop within a particular linguistic area and could sometimes be linked to past political and colonial events; such ‘gesture boundaries’ were found to reveal the deep history of bodily communication.

Arms are an important body part for schematic human figures, as they help to anthropomorphise otherwise geometric ornaments. Nevertheless, they are absent in 769 cases (24 per cent), often on persons depicted on *situlae* when they are not holding any objects or are engaged in other activities requiring hands. In 299 (9 per cent) further instances of human figures have missing arms due to preservation issues. The most important arm gesture for the early Iron Age is the orant, discussed earlier. Arms and hands that are not engaged in any activity are normally held beside the body. In very few cases, the arms are held in front of the body, as if carrying a (missing) object or in embrace. Examples include the ceramic figurines from Gemeinlebarn, Austria (Kromer 1958), Schirndorf, Germany (Stroh 2000a: pl. 9), or the bronze figures from Vix-Mont Lassois, France (Rolley 2003: 359, no. 686), and Stuttgart-Uhlbach, Germany (Huth 2003: pl. 21).

Arms folded in front of the body are a particular feature of monumental stone figures such as the warrior of Hirschlanden, Germany (Plate 1, Zürn 1964b). His

shoulders are slightly drawn up and his arms appear thin; the left arm is held across the body, the open hand touching the right side of the chest, whilst the right hand rests at the left waist near the grip of his dagger. Parallels are widespread in Europe and include the Glauberg warrior, Germany (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002), as well as statues from Capecetrano, Italy (Moretti 1936), and Nesactium, Croatia (Fischer 1984). Constraints of material and perspective certainly play a part in this curious gesture (Mielke 2013). Ian Armit and Philomena Grant (Armit and Grant 2008: 421) suggest that the gesture 'seems to denote a specific relationship with death, the ancestors, and the Otherworld which could have either male or female associations'.

Two naked female figurines of unknown, but most likely Italian, origin (Egg and Pare 1995: pl. 54, fig. 1) repeat the gesture in bronze: again, the right hand is at the hip, whereas the left hand rests at the central part of the chest. The figurines are part of a rattling assemblage of several bronze items, including isolated bronze hands and more stylised anthropomorphic pendants. The figurine from Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Germany (Frey 2005: pl. 2), is shown in the same position in reverse, with the left hand on the hip and the right hand on the chest. An association with the apotropaic or ritual sphere seems therefore justified for this gesture.

Similar and yet quite different in meaning seems the posture known as the arms akimbo, a body position in which the hands are at the waist or hips, with elbows bent outwards. One or both hands at the hips convey confidence and assertiveness, as it makes the body appear larger. This pose appears very rarely on *situlae*, for example, Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 4); it is more common for bronze statues, for example, from Este-Baratella, Italy (Chico Bianchi 2002: pl. 18), or Gazzo Veronese, Italy (Warneke 1999: 104, fig. 48, no. 463). The figurines from Vinkov vrh, Slovenia (Starè 1970: pl. 4), for which only the upper part of the body is shown, blur the boundary between human figures with arms akimbo and figures of sirens (see Section 7.3), with arms rendered as wings.

Fingers are depicted much more rarely than arms, in only 703 cases (22 per cent). Individual fingers are even rarer, with 335 instances; other renderings of fingers usually include the thumb and the flat hand, as a fist or flat hand.

Pointing with the finger is a gesture found on several *situlae*. In depicting this gesture, the index finger is often rendered overly long to draw attention to what is being pointed at. Nevertheless, detached from the early Iron Age world, it is hard to read the meaning of this gesture. Three participants of the feast on the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962) use this gesture. Two women, who are serving drinks from ladles with the right hand, point slightly downwards at the seated musicians in front of them with the left hand, more precisely towards the groin area. According to Christoph Huth, the gesture pointing to the groin area replaces the sex scene on this *situla* (Huth 2003: 174). The male person who uses this gesture points with the right hand at a seated male drinking from a ladle. On the *situla* fragment from Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Moser 2010: 112), the person standing right of the tripod used to mix the wine, points with an elongated index finger to the ladle of the man standing left of the vessel. This gesture perhaps serves to underline the importance of libation, a ritual that connects drinking with the worship of gods and the commemoration of the deceased.



Figure 7.32 Pointing gestures on the *situla* in Providence, from Kuffern, Austria and Dürnbörs-Kranzböchl, Austria (after Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1, pl. 75 and © Keltenmuseum Hallein)

On the *situla* of Vače, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73), the spicing of the drink is accompanied by the gesture of touching the nose with the fingers and thumb. It seems to indicate smelling the spices that the man standing left of the large mixing vessel adds to the drink. A similar scene has been reconstructed for the *situla* of Welzelach, Austria (Urban 2000: 244).

An index finger twice the length of the hand can be found on the *situla* of Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75). It is instrumental to the gesture between a man standing on the left and a small boy of perhaps seven to eight years of age (see also Section 7.6). To the modern onlooker, the gesture seems to embody the man teaching or scolding the boy, although with the distance of millennia, the full meaning remains obscure.

The long index finger is further a feature of the mirror of Castelvetro, Italy (Fig. 7.18, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 21), which includes three men walking horses on the lead, a sex scene and a scene of (marriage?) negotiations. The woman in a couple standing opposite each other raises the finger; another woman gesticulates fiercely with a seated man, who raises his overly long, extended index finger.

On the cist of Montebelluna, Italy (Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 6), a woman stands right next to a couple having sex and watches them. Her (right?) hand is held in another particular gesture: the thumb seems to rest on her chin, while the index finger or flat hand is held vertically. The same gesture is employed by a (male?) person on the *situla* from Sanzeno, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 67), in the same context. The person observes a couple having sex, although (s)he does not stand directly next to them, but is separated by another person serving drinks with a *situla* and ladle in hands, looking backwards. The hand-at-face gesture occurs again on the *situla* from Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013), with two women who are watching the couples having sex. Perhaps the gesture expresses that the person witnesses something that would normally not be for public viewing, except in this very special circumstance captured in the scene; perhaps it suggests that silence is indicated during the sacred act (Huth 2005: 522).

The *situla* of Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Fig. 7.13, Gangemi 2013), incorporates a number of further interesting gestures, which occur in the scene leading up

to the sexual encounters: we see a couple embrace, a woman touching a man's face and a defensive gesture, as the woman stretches her palm against the man's face as he opens her dress. The man having sex in kneeling position behind the woman leads his penis with the left hand, while his right hand is at the waist. The bronze figurine from Vel'ké Lovce, Slovakia (Kolník 1982: 244), curiously also holds his penis with his left hand, whilst the right hand is raised, a gesture very similar to the one made by the nude warrior with bowl-shaped helmet from Lestina near Vače, Slovenia (Turk 2005: fig. 20). Most likely, this gesture indicates virility.

Early Iron Age images rarely speak through gestures; instead, meaning is conveyed through attire and attributes, body positions and arranging images in sequence.

7.9.3 Movement and travelling

Situla Art intends to show animals and people in motion, although the mode of depiction in profile renders the participants of marches and travels rather static. It is not immediately apparent if a person depicted from the side is standing sideways or walking. A sense of movement is constructed through repetition of similar animals or people facing in one direction and the order of images on the object. Figurative *situlae* and cists are organised in horizontal zones of narrative content, the friezes. This mode of depiction may have been transmitted via the Phoenicians and Etruscans towards the Hallstatt area. Originally, the position and direction of the friezes were infused with meaning: whereas the top frieze faced left and symbolised life and order, the bottom frieze faced right and symbolised untamed nature, chaos and death (Turk 2005: 20–21). This scheme may have been the model, but was certainly not strictly adhered to in the Hallstatt area (see Figures 7.33 and 7.34). In general, facing the right side is the preferred mode of depiction in early Iron Age central Europe: 895 (59 per cent) of the 1524 human images displayed in profile face this direction, whereas 629 (41 per cent) face the opposite way. Interestingly, persons standing, walking or marching are almost to the same extent shown right and left (372 and 375, respectively), whereas persons on horseback are much more likely to face right (334 and 65).

It is important to note that not each human representation necessarily means one individual. Repetitions of people often just mean 'many people', whereas the main protagonist of the more complex scenes may be depicted several times doing different things. It is thus sometimes hard to discern how many people were actually referred to.

Situlae and cists were made to be read from top to bottom. The direction of the friezes frequently alternates from row to row (Fig. 7.33). The *situla* of Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013), for example, shows a large number of people proceeding to an event. The people in the upper frieze walk towards the left, the people in the middle row towards the right. The bottom row, which completes the story, is again read from right to left. It starts with courtship, proceeds to various scenes of sexual intercourse and ends with a birthing scene.

Other *situlae*, for example, the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), and that from Vače and Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey

1962: pl. 73, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 4), place the crucial feasting scene in the middle. The top rows again show travelling to a feast, and the bottom rows show hunting/ploughing and animal friezes oriented the other way. Whereas multiple protagonists facing in one direction suggest movement, alternating and mixing people oriented left and right expresses stasis. The order of movement and actions further creates a time depth: travelling comes before the feast, ploughing and hunting after the feast. The *situlae* from Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy, and the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63, app. 1) perhaps suggest that a feast was held *before* marching into battle. *Situlae* dating to the La Tène period, for instance, the *situla* from Kuffern, tend to be reduced to a single figurative frieze.

Of 28 *situlae* and cists well enough preserved to observe their syntax, six display centred scenes in the top frieze, nine face to the left and 13 to the right; the bottom friezes are 11 times oriented to the left and 17 times to the right. Despite the presence of a certain logic, there are no clear rules as to the right and left handedness of the representations.

Bologna-Certosa	4	left	right	centre	left
Magdalenska gora (T2-GA)	4	right	centre	right	right
Este-Benvenuti	3	centre	left	left	
Nesactium	3	centre	left?	left	
<i>Situla</i> in Providence	3	centre	left	right	
Welzelach	3	centre-left	left	left	
Dolenjske Toplice	3	left	centre	left	
Magdalenska gora (T13-G55)	3	left	centre	right	
Pieve d'Alpago	3	left	right	left	
Vače (1882)	3	left	centre	right	
Matrei	3	left	centre	right	
Montebelluna- <i>situla</i>	3	right	centre	left	
San Maurizio	3	right	right	right	
Sanzeno	3	right	centre	right	
Montebelluna-cista	2	centre	right		
Dürrnberg-Kranzbichl	2	centre-left	right		
Bologna-Arnoaldi	2	right	left		
Magdalenska gora-Laščik	2	right	right		
Magdalenska gora (T2-GB)	1	left			
Novo mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva	1	left			
Novo mesto-Kandija (T4-G3)	1	left			
Appiano	1	right			
Este-Boldù Dolfin	1	right			
Kuffern	1	right			
Novo mesto-Kandija (T4-G3)	1	right			
Vače (T1-G3)	1	right			
Novo mesto-Kandija (T2-G6)	1	right			
Valična vas	1	right			

Figure 7.33 The direction of movement on figurative *situlae* and cists decorated in repoussé and chasing technique from Austria, Italy and Slovenia (site/name, number of friezes, direction of first, second, third and fourth frieze; grey: animal friezes)

Situlae and cists decorated in point-boss technique rather than repoussé and chasing follow a related, if slightly different, pattern. Animal friezes and friezes with geometric bands are common, but they rarely follow the zig-zag reading pattern and are not as well defined. Cist XI from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Prüssing 1991: 85–88, Schmid 1933), for example, breaks two animal friezes for a central pair of dumb-bell-fighters, and cist VIII adds the same motif upside down to another. Cist XIII includes a small animal frieze on top and one large frieze with central images; the empty space is interspersed with right-facing rows of animals and riders, but they are not placed in a separate frieze.

The patterns of order and direction in arranging image content diffuse even more on pottery. In general, human images are much more frequently displayed from the front on pottery. Few vessels have more than one frieze, that is, decorated on the neck and the belly. The vessel from Tumulus 28, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 28), perhaps comes closest. Its upper scenes are arranged centrally and right facing, but the lower scenes are all symmetrical. Other vessels arrange scenes in a loosely scattered manner. On the vessel from Nové Kosariská, Slovakia (Pichlerová 1969: pl. 4.1), for example, scenes of hunting, dumb-bell fighting and playing the lyre do not reference each other.

People in movement are, if not engaged in other activities discussed later, either marching as warriors or walking or travelling on horseback, in chariots or in wagons (cf. Eibner 2012b). Whole friezes of warriors marching left appear on the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1), where six warriors with conical helmets follow eight warriors with crested helmets. On the *situla* from Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), five marching warriors follow two mounted ones; separated by an ornament, three groups of four warriors follow, differentiated by their helmets, shields and weaponry. The marching warriors carry their shields towards the left side of the body, with their lances obliquely across the body with the tip facing down. Axes are generally rested on the shoulders. The short warriors' dresses are often invisible behind the shields, but ensure freedom of movement. The legs and feet are otherwise bare; one leg is set forward to indicate movement. The marching warriors appear to be

Kleinklein-Kröllkogel (VII)	5	right	left	right	right	left
Kleinklein-Kröllkogel (XI)	4	left	left	left	left	
Kleinklein-Kröllkogel (XII)	4	left	left	left	left	
Kleinklein-Pommerkogel S	3	left	left	centre-left		
Kleinklein-Kröllkogel (VIII)	2	right	right			
Kleinklein-Kröllkogel (XIII)	2	right	centre-right			
Sesto Calende A	2	right	centre-right			
Sesto Calende B	2	right	centre-right			
Kleinklein-Pommerkogel (III)	1	left				

Figure 7.34 The direction of movement on figurative *situlae* and cists decorated in point-boss technique from Austria and Italy (site/name, number of friezes, direction of first, second, third and fourth frieze; grey: animal friezes)

travelling and are not yet going into battle. Ithyphallic warriors punched into the lids from Kleinklein, Austria (Prüssing 1991: pl. 130), are marching in line with crested helmets and raised axes. This motif, for whatever reason, did not spread farther north; southern German and Swiss belt plates (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), for instance, are decorated with punches of orants and riders, but not with marching warriors.

Walking civilians are a frequent motif on *situlae* (Fig. 7.35). Lines of identical persons arranged in procession lines follow each other. They are often dressed in a simple tunic and cloak and hat, with no visible hands. Their feet are slightly apart, but the mode of depiction is not necessarily different from standing persons. Such lines of walking people appear, for example, on the *situlae* from Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013), Matrei, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 59), and Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 3), and the belt plates of Stična, Slovenia (Gabrovec et al. 2006: fig. 71, Turk 2005: 106). They seem to be proceeding to a feast or a ritual.

There are several variations of the theme of the procession. Most common is the addition of objects to indicate a person's role, such as an axe. Persons proceeding to a feast often bring the necessities: women carry food, drink and firewood on the *situla* from Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), men carry heavy metal vessels and lead animals intended to be slaughtered. At Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Moser 2010: 112), a hunted deer is carried upside down to the feast on a pole. Animals were brought to the feast dead or alive; the leading and driving of animals is thus a common variation of the procession. The local animals, mountain goats and deer, are particularly charming, for instance, on the *situla* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 4), and on the cist of Appiano, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62).

The burial itself is not a subject of depiction in Situla Art, although travelling to the (funerary) feast is. Intriguing is the motif on two of the three belt plates of Stična, Slovenia, from Tumulus 6, Grave 30 (Gabrovec et al. 2006) and an unknown context (Turk 2005: 71, fig. 106). They show a row of people in a procession line, walking towards the right. Dressed in the normal civil attire and wearing hats, some of them carry objects such as lances and an axe. One of the belt plates has 8 or 9 men in the procession, with the other 15 men and 1 woman

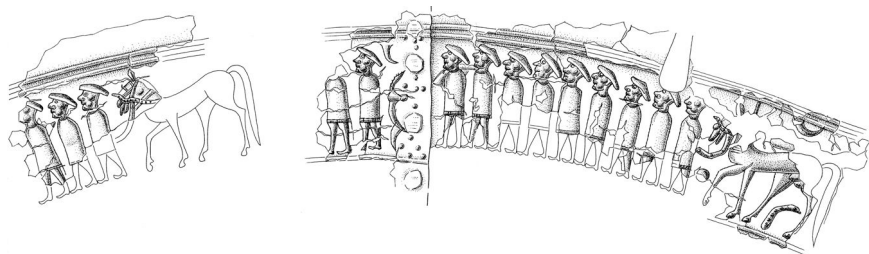


Figure 7.35 Walking civilians on the *situla* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 3, © Narodni muzej Slovenije)

as the last person. A large hound-like beast sits where the procession line is going; the first man stretches out his arm to touch the beast. It is easy to imagine it guarding the entrance to the underworld, similar to the *Kerberos* of Greek and Roman mythology. Biba Teržan has suggested that the people are attending a funeral and bringing the grave goods: the second a lance, the ninth an axe and the eleventh a double-axe; the last of the mourners, a woman, has been interpreted as a wife or concubine following the deceased into the grave (Teržan 1997, Teržan 2001a, Turk 2005: 40).

Another common variation of walking processions of people is the addition of horses that are either led behind on a short rein or led in front on a long rein. Sometimes, these horses are interspersed with riders, such as on the *situla* of Novo mesto-Kandija, Slovenia (Turk 2005: fig. 63). As explained earlier (Section 7.8.1), horses were trained on short and long reins and were highly valued. This does not mean they were not eaten, but they do not feature as animals to be slaughtered. That horses were walked in scenes of processions and travelling either has the background that they were brought to replace tired riding and draft animals hitched up to the chariots and wagons or that they were brought as trading goods, gifts or dowry.

The use of horses always indicates movement. Horses are ridden for warfare, travelling, hunting and horse races; isolated riders may do any of these activities. Archaeological finds indicate that horses were always in pairs under the yoke for both chariots and wagons. The harness consisted of wooden beams fitted on the horses' necks in front of or just behind the withers. The double yoke is symmetrical, with two lateral arches and a straight centre section, which connect to the pole between the horses, which in turn connects to the vehicle. Various leather straps and belts keep the constructions in place. In Hochdorf, Germany (Koch 2006), a double yoke made of maple wood measured 1.20 in length was anatomically formed and decorated with a pair of cast bronze horses. The horse harnesses on *situlae* do not explicitly show how the pole was attached to the horse – they only show a broad strap around the horse's neck (Eibner and Forstenpointner 2009). Such a construction constrains the horse's breathing and is thus not ideal; over time, this problem led to the development of head collars for horses in the medieval period. In images of travelling with chariots and wagons, however, for instance, Dolenjske Toplice, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 195, fig. 4), or Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), only one horse is shown per vehicle;

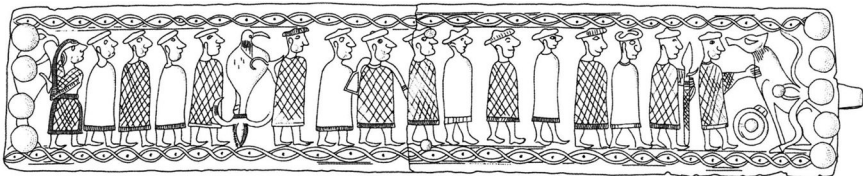


Figure 7.36 Belt plate from Tumulus 6, Grave 30 of Stična, Slovenia (Gabrovec et al. 2006: © Narodni muzej Slovenije)

the pole is set behind the horse. This seems to be a shortcut of perspective, which apparently presented a conundrum for artisans producing similar images outside the immediate realm of Situla Art. On Cist XII from Kleinklein, Austria (Prüssing 1991: pl. 118), for instance, pairs of horses rendered in point-boss technique are either shown on top of each other or as if folded open, with the top horse above a dividing line and the bottom horse upside down. At Rabensburg, Austria (Felgenhauer 1962: 94), the turned perspective is utilised to depict a pair of horses in front of a chariot (Fig. 2.3). Examples of such modes of depictions continue farther north and east, not least because of the importance of showing details of the vehicle construction and the number of horses.

Depictions of chariot races, on the other hand, on the *situlae* from Kuffern, Austria, San Maurizio, Italy, and Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy (Fig. 7.45, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63, 66, 75), depict two horses explicitly, perhaps to indicate the extra speed. Another way of demonstrating speed and overcoming distance is chasing the pattern of sweat on the horses' bodies on the sheet bronze (Bauer 2015).

Motion, movement and speed are difficult to show in images that appear as static snapshots. Nevertheless, the artisans employed techniques such as depicting certain body positions, repetition and order on the object to tell stories in sequence and create temporal depth. The landscape through which movement takes place is never depicted in the early Iron Age. Very few images give a glimpse into the immediate surroundings of the protagonists, for example, furniture and, extremely rarely, houses. Movement is depicted as it is experienced, through the moving body (cf. Rebay-Salisbury 2013).

Travelling can constitute a normal part of life, when relatives and markets are visited, fields a little farther from the settlement are ploughed and planted, hunts are undertaken and religious and ritual places are frequented. Pilgrimages and journeys may, however, also represent liminal states: it is not the journey from place A to place B that is important, but travelling has meaning in its own right. Travelling may be part of young men's education and upbringing, intended to prove themselves and enhance their status through familiarity with the exotic. Through travelling, new relationships between home and away are forged, creating a network of foreign relations. Mary Helms has argued (1988) that the knowledge about foreign places always has a mystical, sacred dimension and is regarded as knowledge given by the gods. Bringing back strange, rare and unusual objects may be used to advantage to legitimise political and spiritual power.

Movement through the landscape is restricted by many factors, such as physical skills, social conventions, architecture, cosmological ideas and worldview, and is charged with fears and emotions. Travelling in the early Iron Age was likely an elite activity and, although it included some women, was a primarily male affair. The elite, from Scythian kings to the European Middle Ages, travelled through their countryside to exercise power (and collect some taxes on the way). Travelling through an unknown environment is often lined with meaning and perhaps even the symbolic conquering of landscape (Tilley 1994: 28). With the limited expressivity of early Iron Age images, showing travelling is a way of showing ownership over geographical as well as temporal distance.

7.10 Actions, activities and practices

Early Iron Age images show people in action. The kind of action is thereby defined through the participating people and animals, their body positions and especially the objects utilised in the process. Object relations specify people's identity and status, but also annotate the actions people engage in and clarify what exactly they are doing. The identification of objects, however, is not always straightforward: objects represented unclearly are often recognised by analogy to a clearer image on another object. This principle favours consistent interpretations at the expense of accounting for every subtle representational difference, be they intentional or not.

Static images can only ever show single actions: specific, single movements, which reference the series of actions of a specific activity. The more elaborate scenic representations string several actions together to give a fuller picture of what is going on. The range of early Iron Age activities shown on different objects is limited; nevertheless, it is rare that a specific action is captured only once. It is therefore possible to reconstruct a network of actions and activities through geographical and temporal distance, which points to domestic and ritual practices shared with the Mediterranean world and beyond.

7.10.1 *Women's occupation: textile production*

The depiction of women's work is rare in early Iron Age imagery. Traditional female activities, such as raising children, caring for the elderly and preparing food, do not feature as image content. The only reference to domestic tasks is the representation of textile production – partly because it was an activity of high status and partly because of its symbolic dimension. The sequence of actions in textile production, notably spinning, weaving and cutting the thread, can also be understood in parallel to the threat of fate (cf. Eibner 1986, Eibner 2005, Teržan 1996). Women in this context appear as the creators of life and weavers of networks, with the power to end it all.

Some iconic images from the area south of the River Po serve as models for the images found farther north. The wooden throne of Verucchio, Italy (Gentili 2003: fig. 59), outlines the whole textile making process in detail, from cutting wool to transport on a wagon, carding, washing, preparing the dye, spinning and weaving. The sheet bronze rattle (*tintinnabulo*) from Bologna-Arsenale Militare, Italy (Plate 4, Morigi Govi 1971), also shows women engaged in textile work. In typical *situla* style, they are dressed in ornate tunics and hooded cloaks. The actions captured include spinning, taking wool on distaffs, weaving and tablet weaving. The women depicted are of high status, as indicated by the thrones they are seated on.

A newly discovered *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), is the first in the study area to include images of spinning women. Two women are standing facing each other next to a couple having sex; they both hold distaffs in their left hands whilst they are twisting the thread to which a drop spindle is

attached. Montebelluna appears to be an important node in the network that connects with sites farther north.

In the Val Camonica, Italy (Anati 1961: 34–35), a little off the main network, multiple images of looms were picked on rocks (Fig. 7.37). The looms are represented as squares with an upright timber beam, heddle rod and shed rod; some looms also have loom weights depicted. Stick-figure people are all around the looms, and in one instance a loom seems to be moved and transported. This might be an important clue to women's mobility – the activity of weaving may be shared in the neighbourhood and did not necessarily bind women to the house. The empty loom may also have a role as a birth bar (see Section 7.7.2). The rock surface further shows a number of paddle-shaped objects, which may represent hackles – combs with which the fleece of the sheep was combed and cleaned. The rock-art images present an interesting source, but dating suggestions range from the middle Bronze Age to the Iron Age. It thus remains difficult to determine what kind of role such images played in the transmission of image content.

Otherwise, images of textile-working women were found at quite a distance: they appear sketched on large, conical-necked vessels at Sopron, Hungary. The scene from Sopron-Várhely (Fig. 7.2, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 16, 17) depicts a woman spinning and a woman weaving on a warp-weighted loom, accompanied by lyre play; the lyre has also, in other readings, been interpreted as a weaving



Figure 7.37 Looms in rock art; Parco Nazionale delle Incisioni Rupestri di Naquane, Val Camonica, Italy (photo: Katharina Rebay-Salisbury)

frame (Urban 2000), which seems less likely in the context of the circum-Alpine image network. Two orant figures complete the scene. The details of the loom make a classification as a warp-weighted loom possible; the timber beam, the loom weights, the heddle rod, the shed rod and the end of the weft thread wound into a ball are all visible. The woven textile is marked by hatching, perhaps to indicate a 2/2 twill (Grömer 2016).

Less clear is the image from Sopron-Váris, Hungary (Fig. 7.2, Gallus 1934: pl. 16), which shows three female orants, a person on horseback and an additional horse, as well as two persons turned towards each other over some hard-to-identify objects. In contrast to the orants, who are most likely women as indicated by their hair and earrings, the other persons on this vessel are not clearly gendered. The objects they are handling have been identified as a basket, wool fleece and distaffs, as a knife and animal to be slaughtered, and as hammer and anvil plus bellows (Kern 2009d: 232). The suggested activities range from textile work to animal sacrifice and forging. In the context of the early Iron Age imagery network, especially taking the analogy to the *tintinnabulo* from Bologna-Arsenale Militare into account, it is most likely that the scene depicts a snapshot in the sequence of textile work in which the wool fleece is taken from a basket and mounted on a distaff.

It is possible that the chessboard-like frames painted on the conical vessel of Rabensburg, Austria (Kerchler 1977: 64), represent a shortcut to indicate looms, although the schematic rendering could also be interpreted as a net for fishing or hare hunting.

The depictions of women's activities, apart from textile work, focus primarily on their ritual role. Most commonly they are depicted in the orant pose and appear to be praying, dancing or grieving. Female participants in feasts are confined to serving roles, offering and pouring drinks, and perhaps practicing libation to connect to the gods and the deceased. Their task is also to witness sex to ensure the legitimacy of offspring emerging from the act of procreation.

7.10.2 Men's pursuits: ploughing, herding, hunting and fishing

A wide range of subsistence activities have been captured in Situla Art and related imagery. They cannot, however, be solely understood as representations of work; rather, their symbolic meaning has to be taken into account. There are reasons to assume that images captured in Situla Art depict the lives of the elite. That high-status people are engaged in manual labour of different kinds suggests a flat social pyramid or a valuation of tasks different from a modern understanding.

Ploughing is an activity that, in addition to its agricultural use, has symbolic meaning (cf. Salisbury 2012). A connection between ploughing and sexual scenes has been drawn, as both allude to fertility (Eibner 2014: 36–37). In addition, the act of drawing a furrow around the space which is meant to become a settlement is known from several foundation myths, including the one of Rome. Ploughs of the early Iron Age are ards or scratch ploughs dragged by pairs of draft animals such as bovids or perhaps even horses. The plough consists of a draft pole, a handle and a share which could be dragged through the soil to cut a shallow furrow. Turning

over the soil, fresh nutrients are brought to the surface and weeds are buried, which prepares the soil for seeding.

The clearest image of a ploughman was discovered on the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 19). In this image, the ploughman wears a simple tunic and cap as he carries the plough on his shoulder. He walks behind a pair of cattle, which he spurs on with a whip. As the last person in a sequence which includes the march of warriors, the procession of civilians to a feast, hunting and feasting, he appears to have already completed his task and is on the way home. Other images of ploughmen were found in Sanzeno (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 67), Italy, on both the cist and the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep, Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 6), two *situlae* from Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992: app. 2, Mihovilić 1995: 320, pl. 11, fig. 10), and perhaps a fragment of the *situla* from Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Moser 2010: 112). They all show the ploughman in action, dressed in a short, skirt-like garment; they either wear flat and round hats or conical hats. One hand is on the plough, whilst the other one raises a whip or stick to spur on the cattle (Fig. 7.38).

Looking after livestock and moving animals from place to place is the task of a herder. The *situla* of Vače, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 70), held in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, shows a herder dressed in a simple tunic with a long herding stick. He is the only person amongst a herd of eight four-legged animals with large, curved horns, almost certainly caprids, perhaps ibex. A similar herding stick is depicted on the cist from Appiano, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62), where several men lead caprids, bovids and cervids interspersed with sphinxes and riders. Herders on the *situla* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 4), appear to be travelling with their animals to the feast in the next frieze. The animals look like local, Alpine caprids, perhaps chamois and ibex. Herding animals may have been part of transhumance practices in the Alpine zone, where high pastures are used in the summer season to feed dairy animals (Eibner 2014: 37–38). Animals destined to be sacrificed are often part of the processions to the feast: they include sheep/goats and cattle, for example, on the *situla* from Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), where a male sheep with large, curved horns is brought to the feast. Interestingly, the hunted wild boar and stag are already dead when they are carried to the feast, whereas the hare is just being trapped in the net. A single person walking behind

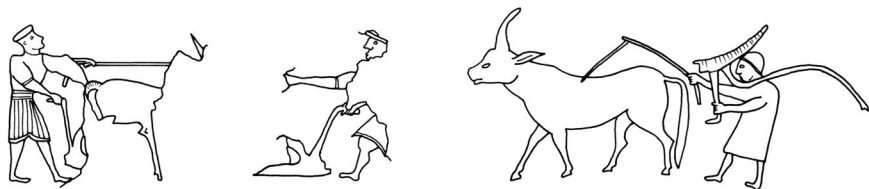


Figure 7.38 Ploughmen on the *situlae* of Sanzeno, Italy, Nesactium, Croatia, and Bologna-Certosa, Italy (after Lucke and Frey 1962: 19, 67, Mihovilić 1995: 320, pl. 11, fig. 10)

three bovids, three cervids and three caprids and in front of two large dogs or bears on Cist XI from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Prüssing 1991: 38, pl. 116–117), may be counted to be the herders; perhaps also a person with a long stick walking behind a horse on the *situla* from Kleinklein-Pommerkogel, Austria (Schmid 1933: fig. 10a). The schematic rendering of images in point-boss technique limits exact identification.

The depiction of hunting includes a person with hunting weapons and the prey. The person is either naked or in the dress of a civilian. The weapons used for hunting are primarily lances as well as bow and arrow, although the killing of the animal may involve an axe or dagger, and clubs, nets and traps are also in use. Hunting is done on foot and on horseback; the hunters normally operate alone, but are sometimes aided by a dog. The most common prey are cervids. In the central European Iron Age, the most widespread species was the red deer, which shows a pronounced sexual dimorphism. The male stag grows antlers each year, starting in spring and which he sheds at the end of winter. Each year of his life, the size of his antlers increases. Impressive antlers, the subject of many depictions, thus give information on both the age of the animal and the season of hunting. The female hind, on the other hand, does not grow antlers. Stags were not only hunted, but also ritually killed (see later). Other prey include wild boar, bears, wild fowl and hares.

Hunting deer with bow and arrow appears on the bowl from Dürrenberg-Eisfeld, Austria (Fig. 7.39, Moser 2010: 106), the belt plate from Molnik, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 197, fig. 7), and the *situlae* from Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Slovenia (Križ 1997b: app. 3), Dolenjske Toplice, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 195, fig. 4), Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992: app. 2), and Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63), as well as a bronze fragment from the sanctuary of Este-Baratella, Italy (Dämmer 2002: 261, fig. 109). The hunter approaches the deer, most often a group of deer, including a stag and hind, with wide open legs and in a half-kneeling position; the bow is drawn and the arrow in place. Between the hunter and the prey is a stylised bush or tree, perhaps to suggest the hunter's cover or to just generally set the scene in the woods. It appears that sometimes, one stag is on a lead; this suggests an ancient hunting technique in which a captured and tamed stag is used to lure other deer by their roaring (Dobiat, Fless and Stauch 2005, Eibner 2014: 40). Archaeological evidence of such 'domestic deer' has been found. Hunters, especially the ones with a bow and arrow, are sometimes supported by an exceptionally large dog sitting patiently behind the hunter. A badly preserved belt plate from Vače, Slovenia (Turk 2005), depicts a dog on the leash in front of a man and jumping at an unknown animal. Hunting with bow and arrow appears in point-boss technique on Cist VIII from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Schmid 1933: pl. 1b). Here, the target of the hunt seems to be a bear or beast; the hunter is again accompanied by a dog. The hunter with bow and arrow on Cist XIII from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Schmid 1933: pl. 1c), is shown with an erect penis and appears to be hunting a chamois.

The deer are brought home tied to a pole, which is shouldered by two men. A stag hangs upside down on such a pole on the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64); on the *situla* from Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria

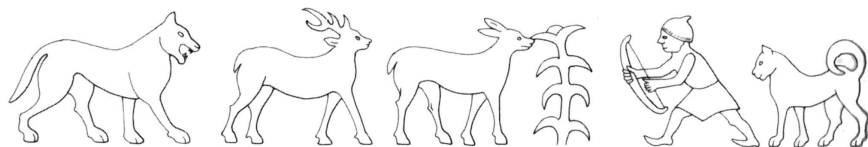


Figure 7.39 Hunting deer with bow and arrow, at Dürrnberg-Eisfeld, Austria (© Keltenmuseum Hallein)

(Moser, Tiefengraber and Wiltschke-Schrotta 2012: 112), it is a hind. Only Cist XI from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria, has the same motif with five waterfowl hanging off the pole (Schmid 1933: fig. 42).

Deer hunting on horseback hardly ever appears in Situla Art. It appears on the belt plate from Zagorje, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: 54), where a mounted hunter has just struck a hind from behind with a lance. A stag with impressive antlers follows the rider and is bitten in the hindquarters by a dog. Another time, on the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), a mounted hunter pursues a ten-ender and hind as well as an eight-ender with a hind. The latter is hit by two lances, whilst the hunter throws a third lance. A horseman accompanied by a dog is the motif of the bronze belt from Este-Nazari, Italy (Kromer 1962: pl. 22), although it remains unclear what exactly he is hunting; five rows of hares in the next image might connect him to battue hunting. Very similar is a late Bronze Age fragment of a hunter with horse found on the Gurina, Austria (Jablonka 2001: 170, pl. 125).

Hunting deer on horseback is a more common motif on pottery, although the mode of depiction blurs some of the details. The hunter from Tumulus 28, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29), almost certainly uses lances and perhaps a group of dogs to hunt several stags and hinds; a similar motif may have existed on another vessel from Tumulus 80, which is now too fragmented to be sure (Bella 1894: fig. 11). On the vessel from Reichersdorf, Austria (Neugebauer and Gattringer 1986: 95), the mounted hunter is separated from his prey, a stag, by a hatched triangle. It is unclear which weapon he is using. Further hunting scenes are painted on the vessels from Biely Kostol and Nové Košariská, Slovakia (Pichlerová 1969: pl. 4, Urmínský 2001: pl. 3), recognisable only because the riders are surrounded by other four-legged animals. Mounted hunters also occur outside the study area, towards the north and east. A hunter with bow and arrow, is, for example, the motif on a vessel from Łazy, Poland (Huth 2003: pl. 30); a bowl decorated with two impressive stags and a rider was found at the settlement of Biskupin, Poland (Kopiasz 2010). It is perhaps unsurprising that hunting on horseback is more frequently found where open landscapes were present. In heavily wooded areas, on the other hand, hunting deer on foot is more appropriate.

In addition to hunting, the killing of stags with axes had a particular ritual significance in the early Iron Age (Fig. 7.40). This recurrent motif appears in several media, as bronze and ceramic figurines, on sheet bronze in repoussé and chasing and in point-boss technique.

The Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a), gives a detailed account of how the killing ritual was carried out. The wagon, dating to around 600 BC, was found in a very rich grave in 1851 that was re-excavated in 2012 (Tiefengraber and Tiefengraber 2013). During this recent campaign, a few additional pieces of the Cult Wagon were discovered, although the most interesting new piece of information is the wagon's grave context: the exceptionally rich grave was built into a monumental tumulus with a *dromos* and contained at least four individuals, two of which were most likely men and two of which were women. Exceptional for the East Hallstatt area, the most important person in the grave was likely the adult woman – she was dressed in the most exquisite attire, which included golden hair rings, two bronze *fibulae*, a cloak sewn with bronze plaques, a headdress and an unusual belt made of bronze rings, as well as bead jewellery made of amber, glass and gold. Typical signs of male status and prestige – helmets, swords and cuirasses – are not part of the inventory. The Cult Wagon's centre piece is a female figurine approximately 23 cm high, twice as tall as the rest of the figurines. It is likely that this figure either represents a goddess or the deceased woman in the grave, perhaps a priestess.

The sacrifice of a stag takes place twice at her feet, repeated in mirror image. Both scenes include a front row, into which a small stag is led by two sexless people using its enormous antlers with 10 ends. The stag is followed by a female and a male figurine who holds an axe raised in his right hand, about to slaughter the animal. The whole scene is flanked by a pair of armed horsemen. In Gemeinlebarn, Austria (Kromer 1958), and perhaps Langenlebarn, Austria (Preinfalk 2003), fragments of ceramic figurines were found which could make up similar scenes; they include human as well as animal figurines, including a stag.

On the *situla* from Sesto Calende, Italy (Huth 2003: pl. 52), a similar scene in point-boss technique shows a beautiful image of a stag, a hind and a fawn suckling; another scene in the same frieze shows the killing of a stag. He is shown standing towards the right, with a person holding his antlers. One person is standing behind him (the object in the right hand is missing), whilst the second person on the right raises an axe towards his head. *Situla* B contained a related scene, but is much more fragmented.

Whether the scenes from Kleinklein-Pommerkogel, Austria (Schmid 1933: 1b), can be added here is debatable. The middle frieze of the cist shows an armed man with an axe walking behind two animals, the first of which may be a bear, the second a four-legged animal – perhaps a deer to be struck from behind. The lower frieze also shows a warrior with helmet, shield and axe facing an animal – unfortunately, the crucial bit necessary to understand the scene fully is missing.

The cist of Appiano, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62), shows both a tame stag led behind a walking person and the killing of a stag: in this case, the act is carried out by a (probably male) person without a headdress holding an axe in one hand and a knife or dagger in the other, both of which he uses to forcefully slash into the croup of the animal. Quite similar is the image on the *situla* from Sanzeno, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 67). Again, a nude, bald person strikes an animal from behind with an axe in the right hand and a lance in the left. The axe has already hit the animal in the croup and is shown slicing through the flesh.

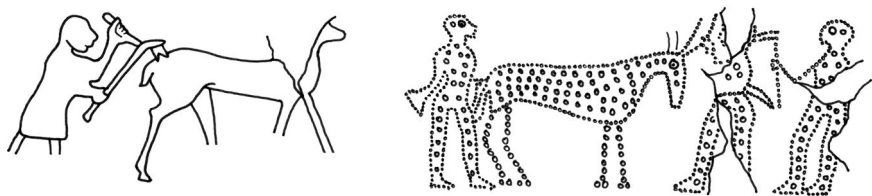


Figure 7.40 The killing of the stag: Appiano and Sesto Calende, Italy (after Huth 2003: pl. 52, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62)

The deposition of red deer in storage pits is not unheard of in the late Bronze Age and Hallstatt periods. The Urnfield culture settlement of Stillfried, Austria (Griebl and Hellerschmid 2013), contained several such pits in which human remains were buried along with those of red deer. The deposition of an old stag with 10-ended antlers in a settlement pit at Langenzersdorf near Vienna, Austria (Ladenbauer-Orel 1965), is particularly intriguing in this context. The stag was deposited in autumn, around 415 ± 220 cal. BC (charcoal from the pit fill) and is almost complete, except that the right hind leg is missing. The stag was not only very old, but also showed several pathologies that would have made it difficult for him to survive in the wild; he was likely kept in captivity before his death. That deer were kept in captivity is further underlined by the findings of bits too small for horses and likely used in deer bridles. A deer burial complete with bit and bridle was found, for instance, in Villeneuve-Renneville, France (Pauli 1983).

Because red deer was the preferred prey for hunting and may have included using a tamed stag to lure other deer, the art motif of killing the stag might refer to such a 'domestic' stag. One could further speculate that the stag belonging to the master of the hunt had to be killed upon his death – after all, all pieces of art showing the scene were found in elite graves. Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a, Krauß 1999), did not include any reference to this ritual except the axe on the wagon, which may be a shortcut to the scene. Curiously, the season of the closure of the burial mound may have been autumn/early winter – the time when red deer carry the most developed antlers.

Axes are frequently shouldered by civilians who are participating in a feast or procession. It appears plausible that they, too, carry their axe in order to slaughter and sacrifice animals further along the timeline. Such images are known from the *situlae* of Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Zeller 2004: 400), for example, or the lid and *situlae* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 2, 4, 5). What we know about the ritual of stag killing is that it must have taken place in autumn or winter. Because it is unlikely that all (elite) persons were buried only during this season, the killing of the stag may not be exclusively linked to funerals. The Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a), is the only composition that adds a direct reference to the

transcendent in the form of the over-life-sized female figurine: a ‘mistress of the animals’ perhaps (cf. Counts and Arnold 2010).

Wild boars are sometimes targets of hunting, as on the scabbard of Este, Italy (Drexler-Woldrich 1980), and the bowl from Dürnbreg-Eisfeld, Austria (Moser 2010: 106). A boar is also dragged to the feast on the *situla* from Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64). Bears seem to have been hunted as seen on the cists of Kleinklein, Austria (e.g., Kröllkogel, Schmid 1933: pl. 1). That the hunter, in this case, is dressed as a warrior may allude to the mythological struggle of a hero against a monster (Egg and Kramer 2005: 29).

Hunting hares is a rare motif, shared by the *situlae* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), Sanzeno, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 67), Welzelach, Austria (Fig. 7.41, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 76), and the belt from Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Slovenia (Križ 1997b: app. 3). The hunter from Bologna-Certosa is nude except for a pointed cap, but he is armed with two clubs to drive the hare into the net. Between the hunter and the hare is a plant, perhaps to indicate his cover. The hunter from Welzelach is dressed in a short skirt with belt, on to which a dagger is fastened, and is portrayed in a particularly dynamic motion. He drives two hares into the net with a club. The preservation of the belt from Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva and the *situla* from Sanzeno is insufficient to recognise other details than the hare and the net.

The same object, the belt from Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Slovenia (Fig. 7.41, Križ 1997b: app. 3), also shows fishing. Two naked men are holding in place a fish trap, comprising a net spanning two rods. Two fish are already trapped in the net. Fish are otherwise a rare motif in the Hallstatt world. A row of fish swimming right is part of an animal frieze on a fragment from Mechel, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 28), and a large, man-eating fish, perhaps a local interpretation of a shipwreck scene, appear on Cist VIII from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Schmid 1933: pl. 1b). That fishing was, in fact, an elite activity, is ascertained by the three fishing hooks and some fishing line found with the Hochdorf burial (see Section 4.3).

Ploughing, herding, hunting and fishing are all outdoor pursuits that are tied into particular seasons. Ploughing is an activity carried out during spring to prepare the fields for growth, fishing tends to be most plentiful in summer and hunting is primarily done in late autumn, as confirmed by the presence of impressive

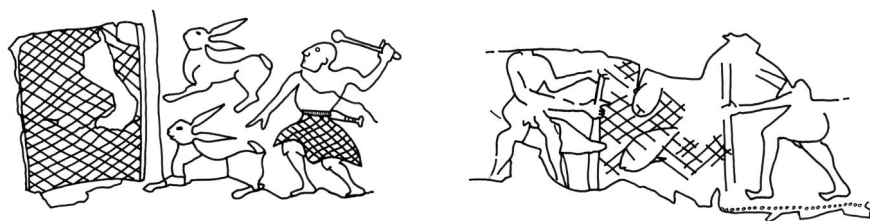


Figure 7.41 Hare hunting and fishing at Welzelach, Austria, and Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Slovenia (after Križ 1997b: app. 3, Urban 2000: 244)

antlers on the images of stags. The ritual killing of the stag was also carried out during autumn or winter. Depicting these activities may ‘date’ other actions on the same object to particular seasons. Conversely, they may be intended to show the whole breadth of year-round activities and thus a sense of ownership over time.

7.10.3 Feasting: drinking, making music and sports

The feast is a central motif of many *situlae*. On the occasion of the find of the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria, Lambert Karner (Karner 1891: 68–71) famously interpreted the scene as just a funny tavern story (*‘lustige Wirtshausgeschichte’*). Wolfgang Lucke continued this sentiment, noting that such a happy and loud party with music, drinking and competitions can be experienced in Alpine valleys to this day (Lucke and Frey 1962: 47). Early on, however, parallels to funerary feasts as described in the *Iliad* have been drawn (for a history of interpretative ideas, see Koch 2003: 350–351), and one of the most common interpretations is that the scenes on *situlae* are concerned with the heroisation of the dead (e.g., Kull 1997, Teržan 1997). Interpretations differ in terms of whether the scenes are set in the real or transcended world: some bridge both views. Christoph Huth suggested that the *situla* feast is always concerned with the death of the main protagonist (Huth 2003, Huth 2005), not least because figurative *situlae* are normally found in graves, and many objects furnishing elite graves are interchangeable with objects in the depictions. According to his reading, the *situlae* show the journey to the afterlife, and the *situla* feast takes place after the death of the father in the next world. It displays the transmission of power from father to son and the apotheosis of the father. Religious rituals such as drinking from a ladle served by a woman and sexual intercourse are employed to legitimise power. The *situlae* further show fateful struggles and heroic deeds of the deceased.

Conversely, I would caution against applying one single explanatory model to the depiction of a theme that in actuality displays quite a bit of variability. Feasts were held for particular occasions, which emerge from the context in some instances, but remain obscure for others. On the *situlae* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), for instance, a feast seems to have been held on the occasion of marriage; on the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1) before going into battle and on the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63), the feast was most likely a funerary feast. Persons gathering for a feast include women and men, standing and sitting people. According to Alexandrine Eibner, the feasts are tribal conventions (Eibner 2012a: 49). Only late *situlae*, for example, the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), include exclusively men and seem to aim at depicting and heroising a single male person, perhaps the deceased in the grave where the object was found. The focus thereby shifts from the community to the individual.

To reduce the scenes of Situla Art merely to the religious and symbolic fails to account for the fact that feasts were important to the community – not only funerary feasts, but also feasts for many other occasions. It is important to acknowledge evidence of feasting beyond images and graves, for instance, remnants of feasting

paraphernalia from settlements, including Mediterranean imports (e.g., the Heuneburg, Kimmig 2000). Feasting was an important mechanism to tie communities closer together, to confirm and strengthen existing networks and to build new ones. And yet, Situla Art is masterful at displaying multiple layers of meaning simultaneously: the profane and religious, this world and the afterlife, order and chaos, reality and mythology.

Feasting includes several elements. At its core is the consumption of an alcoholic beverage in a choreographed way, aided by particular vessels and other utensils (cf. Dietler 1996, Dietler 2006, Kaus 1980, Kossack 1964). In the Mediterranean region, this alcoholic drink was wine, and archaeobotanical finds from Stillfried and Zagersdorf, Austria (Rebay 2003), suggest that domesticated wine was indeed imported or even produced north of the Alps; farther north, for instance, at the Glauberg, Hochdorf and the Heuneburg, Germany, mead was primarily consumed (Rösch 2005). Wine was stored in *situlae* and cists, bronze buckets that were hung on racks, according to the images on the *situlae* of Este-Benvenuti, Italy, and Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65, 75). Wine was further mixed with water in a large cauldron on a pedestal or tripod – a *kratēr* or *lebes* – and spiced with herbs, an action carried out by two men on the *situlae* of Vače, Slovenia, and perhaps also at Welzelach, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 60, 73). Two men standing on both sides of a large cauldron, taking the drink out with a ladle, is depicted on the *situlae* from Dürrnberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Moser 2010), Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004), Montebelluna and Sanzeno, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep, Lucke and Frey 1962: 67), and the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1). One person is always holding the ladle, whereas the other one either holds out a bowl to receive a drink or holds his hand in an iconic gesture (see Section 7.9.2). The drink is then served with a ladle or, alternatively, libation takes place, which is especially likely when the persons offered the drink are otherwise engaged and have no bowl or other means to receive the drink in their hands. The actual offering of drinks with ladles/libation is done by two women and one man on the most complete *situlae* (Magdalenska gora, Montebelluna, Providence, Vače) and taken over by only one man in the late images (Dürrnberg-Kranzbichl, Kuffern). Whenever the seated male participants in the feast are actually shown drinking, they drink from a ladle that is being offered or from a bowl in their hands. And although animals – dead or alive – are brought to the feast, eating is not depicted at all.

Seated dignitaries of the feast are drinking from a bowl or ladle that is being offered, playing the lyre or flute, or holding objects that are sometimes hard to identify. Persons in the second row behind the flute players from the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1) are holding a fan; a sheet bronze fan, decorated in *situla* style, has indeed recently been found in the ‘grave of a nameless king’ at Waisenberg, Austria (Gleirscher 2005a). Sceptres appear on the *situla* from Vače, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73), where its end is shaped like a double-bird head, and at Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 4), where its single end again looks like a bird or

snake. A seated man on a throne on the lid of Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 5), is depicted with a forked stick. Forked sticks also appear in the context of sporting competitions, notable at Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), where they seem to be involved in refereeing. The women witnessing sexual scenes on the *situla* of Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013: 290, Fig. 6.9), hold club and axe-like objects. In the absence of other good explanations, they, too, can be understood as symbols of power (cf. Eibner 2009). Perhaps they resemble sceptres, which were found in high-status female graves on a range of Slovenian sites such as Vače and Magdalenska gora (Schumann 2015: 229, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: 334–340). In the light of Etruscan parallels, these elaborate bronze sticks are interpreted to signal an important ritual role in society.

Images on *situlae* arise from high-status contexts, and the people depicted belong to the highest ranks of early Iron Age society. Nevertheless, the depiction of objects helps to signify status and prestige amongst this peer group. Thrones and other furniture are the backdrop of the elite; objects that signal power and status are sceptres and, to a lesser degree, axes. These multi-purpose tools serve well as weapons for warfare and conflict, and have their use in hunting and in rituals that involve the killing of animals. The axe hung over the bed of the couple having sex on the *situla* of Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), however, quite clearly indicates its function as a symbol of power. For women, textile tools may be analogous in signifying both a tool and symbol of status. Helmets are shown as prizes on *situlae*, if they are not worn, and thus have their place in the negotiation of prestige (cf. Schumann 2015).

The feast further includes music played on pan flutes and lyres. A single pan flautist plays music on the feast on the *situla* from Vače, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73), and Dürnberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Zeller 2004: 400). The pan flute is played by marching men with crested helmets following women carrying vessels on the *situla* of Welzelach, Austria (Urban 2000: 244). They almost certainly are on their way to a feast. A lyre player accompanies a dance on the *situla* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 2). Other *situlae* depict musical competitions, in which musicians are seated opposite each other with a prize in the middle. On the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1), two pan flautists compete over a large vessel; on the *situla* from Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), it is a flute and a lyre player sitting on a sofa-bed together. They compete over a *situla* hung between them. Opposing pairs of lyre and pan flute players sometimes frame the central scene with the mixing vessel; it is unclear how far their play also involves a competitive element.

Depictions of music making are relatively frequent in early Iron Age images (Fig. 7.43, cf. Eibner 1980, Schuster 1991). In total, 84 individuals are shown with musical instruments. This surprisingly large number comprises 37 lyre players, 14 pan flute players, 11 aulos players and 22 horn blowers, who appear in the context of war (see Section 7.10.4). The lyre is especially popular both south and north of the Alps and is found on bronze vessels as well as pottery (cf. Reichenberger



Figure 7.42 Feasting at Dürrnberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (© Keltenmuseum Hallein)

1985a); as described earlier (Section 6.5), it undergoes a transformation in the way it is handled and depicted as it moves northwards. Musicians in Situla Art are exclusively men and appear in the context of feasts. North of the Alps the context is not as obvious, as the lyre player appears in isolation or only with a few other people who appear to be dancing (e.g., Loretto, Austria, Nebelsick 1994: pl. 69). At Sopron-Várhely (Fig. 7.2, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 17), the playing accompanies a spinning and weaving scene. At Janíky-Dolné Janíky, Slovakia (Studeníková 1996: 61), a very abstract version of a lyre – if a lyre at all – is held by an individual who is most likely female, based on earrings or hairstyle indicated by dots around the head. In contrast to the motif of the lyre, the motif of the flautist seems confined to sheet bronze work and does not spread northwards.

Depictions of *aulos* players, on the other hand, never feature in repoussé and chasing, but are an element of sheet bronze decoration in point-boss technique. The *aulos* is a wind instrument sometimes also referred to as a flute, but in fact a double pipe played with a reed. It was popular in ancient Greece and adopted by a few communities in central Europe. The bronze figurine of an *aulos* player from Százhalombatta, Hungary (Plate 6, Eibner 1999: 39), is unfortunately a stray find without context. Nine *aulos* players decorate Lid XIII and Cist XIII from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Plate 7, Prüssing 1991: pl. 120–121, 131), where they are also set up in pairs, competing over bronze vessels. A further image of an *aulos* player was found on a fragment from Býčí skála, Czech Republic (Eibner 1999: 47).

Feasts also include sports – physical activities with a competitive element, involving skills, rules and formal organisation (cf. LeUnes 2008: 5). Sports of the early Iron Age in central Europe have to be seen within the context of sports in the Mediterranean world, especially Greece and Etruria (Rebay-Salisbury 2012b). But without sources other than images alone, it is difficult to work out the specific, regionally unique characteristics. The fragment of a little black-figure master cup found at the Heuneburg, Germany (Kimmig 2000: pl. 11, Fig. 7.1), which shows a

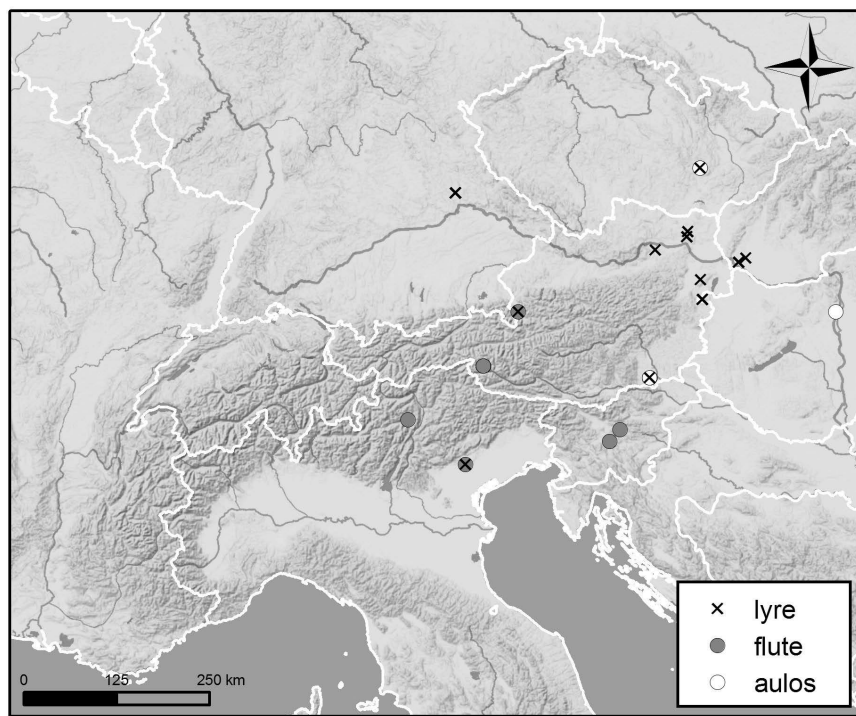


Figure 7.43 Representations of musical instruments: lyre, flute and aulos

naked wrestler flanked by a bystander or referee, suggests that images of Mediterranean sports could reach as far as north of the Alps. Formalised sporting competitions are a high-status activity and may, as in the Mediterranean, have religious and ritual connotations. Sports that can clearly be identified on *situlae* and other media include dumb-bell fighting and horse and chariot races.

Dumb-bell fighting looks similar to boxing, but seems to have been conducted in an entirely different way (Fig. 7.44, Lazar 2011, Zimmermann 2003). It is the most commonly depicted sport and easy to recognise. The opponents fight naked and are depicted with bald or shaved heads; as an image on the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2 and 3, Lucke and Frey 1962) suggests, the clothes were taken off just before the contest and remain neatly folded nearby. Some dumb-bell fighters still wear their belts, arm rings or other indicators of superior status. They stand facing each other; one leg is slightly bent and set forward, whilst the other one is straight and braced backwards for stability. One arm is raised and stretched towards the opponent; the other one is bent and held behind the body. Both hands grip the dumb-bells, the essential sport paraphernalia used in this competition. Although so far, no archaeological finds have been discovered that could, with absolute certainty, clarify what they really are, the depictions suggest a bar with a weight in the form of a sphere on either end. Perhaps the reason why they have

not been found is that they were made of organic materials; some images suggest they were fixed to the hand by a strap, which was almost certainly leather or textile. The dumb-bells have been likened to the Greek *sphairai* (Franz 1962: 270). During the fight, one arm swings forward whilst the other swings back, and the fists are twisted. The aim of the game may have been to disarm the opponent. On the *situla* from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), the sportsmen seem to struggle over one central dumb-bell and have both arms held to the front. The image is frequently framed by the spectators who, in contrast to the fighters, are clothed. On the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), teams with different headgear can be made out. Some bystanders hold a stick or sceptre in their role as referee; at Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 2), two persons with similar, long sticks bent at the top are watching dumb-bell fighting; at Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), a forked stick is used. The person towards the left of the sportsmen holds the forked stick up, whilst the one on the right points it down. The position of the stick seems to signal a scoring system. The central part of the iconic dumb-bell scene shows the prize for a successful fight: a crested helmet. Only the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1) features a large bronze vessel, and on the *situla* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 2), the prize is replaced by a rosette, which possibly represents a shield.

Other than on Situla Art, the iconic composition of the image of the dumb-bell fighter appears on a ceramic sherd from Este, Italy (Hoernes 1893: 109, fig. 49), which may have been used as a stamp or repoussé and chasing aid for the sheet bronze work. Variations on sheet bronze found farther north include dumb-bell fighters on the fragment from Fließ, Austria (Sydow 1995: pl. 43, 329), in which the equipment takes the form of an oval loaf, and the images in point-boss technique from Kleinklein, Austria, which, due to their low resolution, are more difficult to classify. The image of two contestants with thickened fists curiously appears upside down on cist VIII from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel (Schmid 1933: pl. 1b); the image on cist XI (Prüssing 1991: 338, pl. 116–117) lacks the thickened fists most likely representing dumb-bells, but repeats the fighters' position with both arms stretched towards each other, and with a rosette in the middle. Further images from Kleinklein (cist VII, Schmid 1933: pl. 1a; cist IV, Prüssing 1991: 335a, pl. 110–111) take up the frame of the opposing contestants, but change the content: objects that resemble long shields and short round shields replace the sporting equipment and turn the scene into a serious fight. Figurines with the dumb-bell fighter motif from Landeck, Austria (Höck 1997: 101) include a dumb-bell fighter with a conical hat or helmet; the figurines also have a Saint Andrew's cross on their chest, suggesting some form of sportswear or armour.

Four pairs of contestants sketched into the soft clay on a vessel from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29), are depicted standing close to each other, and each person's arms are shown on the other person's head, gripping each other's hair or giving each other a hook to the chin. Three pairs of figures are wearing trouser-like garments, whereas one pair is shown with ballooning skirts. Rather than dancing or mourning, the figures seem to express direct, physical

violence as if caught up in a sporting competition or an even more serious fight. The recent find of a conical-necked vessel with similar but even more stylised images from Frög, Austria (Gleirscher 2009), contributes seven further pairs of persons depicted in a similar manner, standing opposite and seemingly 'holding hands'. Paul Gleirscher has argued in this context that dancing with connected hands is a particular cultural feature of the East Hallstatt area. The simply painted stick figures from Nové Košariská, Slovakia (Pichlerová 1969: pl. 3, 4) standing opposite each other with connected hands may also be mentioned here. In all these cases it is hard to discern whether a friendly, competitive or even hostile atmosphere is captured.

The back of the cline of Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a: pl. 26), is the northernmost depiction which may be added to the canon of images of sports in the Hallstatt area. Three pairs of sword fighters (or 'dancers' according to Huth 2003: 92–97) appear in a similar body position to the dumb-bell fighters, with one leg set forward and one leg set back. The upper body, however, is tilted farther backwards than usual. One arm stretched towards the opponent is carrying a small shield or buckler to parry the blows; the other arm is bent at the back with a short sword or dagger. In addition to the ponytail hairstyle and the skirt-like garment, the contestants are represented with erect penises.

In total, 83 persons from 22 sites could be classified as sportsmen engaged in dumb-bell fighting or a variation of that scene; it clearly indicates that physical exercise, competition and achieving an athletic body were parts of the early Iron Age bodily male ideal. Simultaneously, they are preparations for warfare.

Other less frequently depicted sports are horse and chariot races. The belt plate from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: pl. 41.1), shows a single rider sitting bareback on a horse next to a dumb-bell fighting scene; he is bald, nude and his upper body is turned. One arm is stretched forward, holding the reins close to the mane, whilst the other one is stretched back, slashing a whip with a forked end over the croup of the horse. Racing riders appear directly behind the chariot race on the *situla* of Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75). They wear exactly the same long, pointed hats as the charioteers, whilst their bodies are naked. The upper bodies are tilted backwards and the left arms are bent, with the fists held upright, gripping the reins. The second rider's right arm is stretched out behind the body towards the croup of the horse. He is using an object, probably a whip or perhaps a dagger, to spur on the horse. Riding and racing bareback requires balance, skill and training and was certainly worth competing over. Outside the context of Situla Art, riders appear regularly, but the context of their actions is hard to ascertain; they primarily feature in military and hunting scenes, and it is unclear if some of them involve equestrian sports.

The images of chariot races on the *situlae* of Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63), and Kuffern, Austria (Fig. 7.45, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), are very similar to each other. Four men drive their pairs of horses with chariots at full speed to the right. Two horses are shown directly behind each other, a rather unusual way of depiction for Situla Art and perhaps employed to signal speed (see Section 7.9.3); normally only one horse is shown from the profile, although a pair

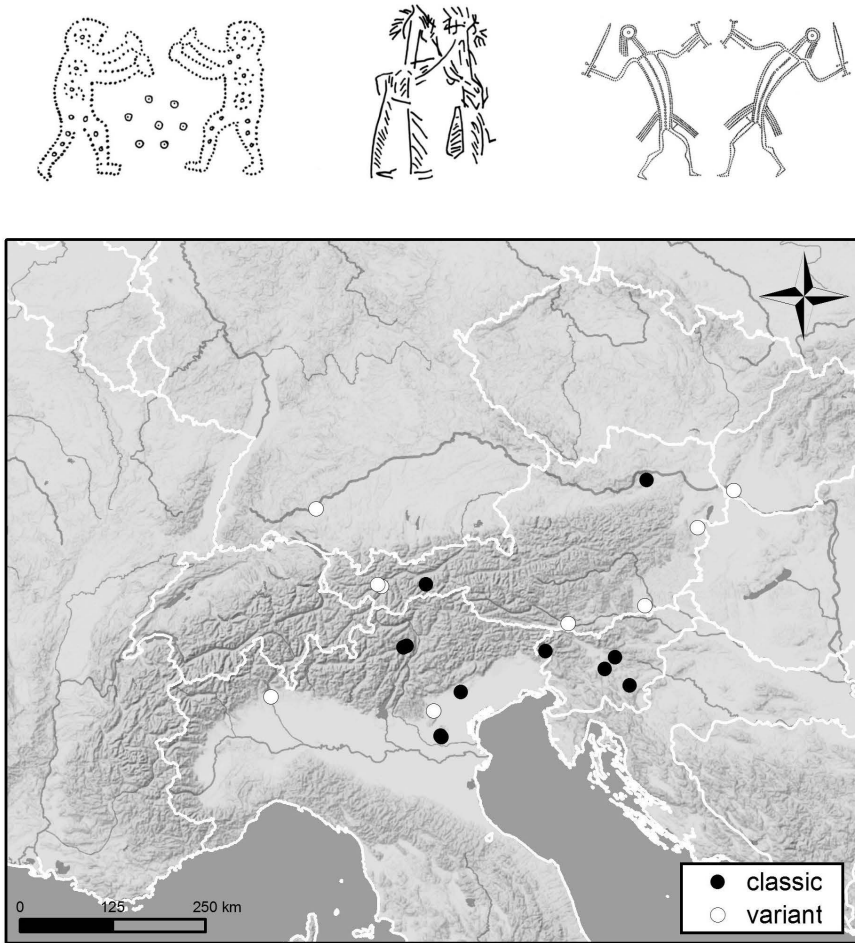


Figure 7.44 Dumb-bell fighting variations, from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary and Hochdorf, Germany (after Biel 1985a: pl. 26, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29, Schmid 1933: pl. 1b), and their distribution

was used. The charioteers are dressed in a short-sleeved garment with a belt on the *situla* from Bologna-Arnoaldi and are depicted with a rather strange, patterned skirt on the *situla* of Kuffern, which seems to be cut short in the front and long in the back. On both *situlae*, they wear a long, pointed hat particular to chariot racing (and few other contexts, for example, the steersman on the *situla* of Nesactium, Croatia: see Section 7.10.4). They all face forward except for the second one on the *situla* from Bologna-Arnoaldi and the first on the *situla* from Kuffern, who look back at their pursuers.

The chariot drivers hold long reins with both hands and carry a goad in their right hand to spur on the horses to higher performances. The horses are normally

controlled by voice and reins, but in addition, sharp points were used in the early Iron Age. Goads (*stimuli* in Latin, *kentra* in ancient Greek) are typical equipment for sportive chariot races. Tips of goads have been found in Etruscan contexts such as Volterra, Tarquinia, Veio and Bologna, Italy (Krauß 1992), as well as north of the Alps at the Heuneburg and in the princely burial of Hochdorf, Germany (Koch 2006: 87, 275). The left arm of the charioteer is raised above the head, whilst the right arm is held at waist level. On the *situla* from Kuffern, the reins are clearly shown wrapped around the waist, but on the *situla* from Bologna-Arnoaldi, it is unclear how they are held in place. Greek chariot racers held reins in their hands, whereas Roman drivers steered using their body weight and wrapped the reins around their torsos (Futrell 2006: 191); the image thus seems more related to ancient Italian models.

On the *situla* from Kuffern, the chariot race is followed by a horse racing scene; on the *situla* from Bologna-Arnoaldi, a chariot with driver and passenger, dressed differently but also holding a goad, follows the scene. He might have just arrived, travelling to the event, or may be watching and refereeing. The racing scene is framed towards the right by a person naked except for a belt; his body pose resembles that of a dumb-bell fighter, with one arm stretched out and up and the other one back behind the body and with open legs. He is either placed there as a referee (e.g., Huth 2003: 201) or it is the remnant of an earlier attempt to craft the dumb-bell fighting scene (cf. Rebay-Salisbury 2012b). Both *situlae* show a dumb-bell fight in the same frieze, underlining the sporting character of the event.

Fragments of a cist from San Maurizio, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 66), may also depict the chariot race but are not as detailed. At least two chariots seemed to be involved in the race, recognisable by the duplication of the horse image in profile. The use of the goad also speaks for an interpretation of a race; only part of one driver is preserved. A man facing the horses with a handled vessel in his hand is standing between two chariots. His role is unclear. He may be a referee, holding the prize for the successful contestant, or a horse groom ready to feed and water the animals (Eibner 2012a: 56). A fragment of a chariot race also survived in the sanctuary of Pillerhöhe, Austria (Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 1998: Fig. 18.2), reworked into a shield votive. It shows a bald driver on the chariot, dressed in a short-sleeved garment. Again, he holds his left hand up high whilst the right one tightly grips a goad. His own horses are not on the preserved part of the fragment; the horses behind him are again depicted in the characteristic double profile.

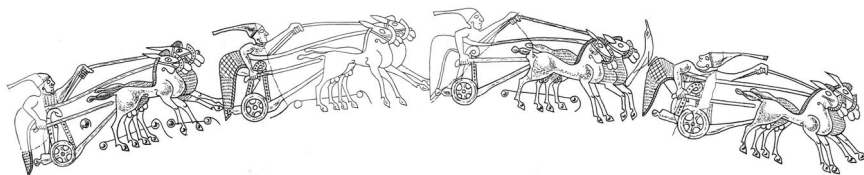


Figure 7.45 Chariot race on the *situla* of Kuffern, Austria (after Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75)

The chariot race is elusive north of the Alps, where depictions of four-wheeled wagons prevail. Only the chariot from Rabensburg, Austria (Felgenhauer 1962: 94), connects with the racing tradition farther south. The image was made of lines of single, soft impressions on a large vessel with conical neck and thereby sets the resolution to a minimum. Nevertheless, the ithyphallic driver is shown standing on the chariot with the reins in the left hand and reins or goad in the other. Even his headdress seems to follow the conventions from Bologna-Arnoaldi and Kuffern. To show clearly two horses and the type of vehicle, they are rendered in non-linear perspective (Figure 2.3).

7.10.4 Warfare

In addition to the insights gained from warrior equipment in graves and individual human representations, a few scenic representations inform us about military practices. Early Iron Age warriors from central Europe were predominantly fighting on foot. Weaponry varied regionally, but in the area of human representations, lances, shields and axes dominate (Egg 1996c, Frey 1973). Marching warriors, who appear to be travelling (see Section 7.9.3), often come in groups of four to five identically equipped men, which seems a suitable unit for cooperation. Mounted warriors, equipped with lances and bow and arrows, are typical for the pastoral steppe cultures; contact with Scythians, including armed conflict, left its legacy in weaponry and fighting styles of the eastern Hallstatt area (see Section 7.8.4).

Warriors marching into battle are characterised by a man who blows a horn to signal (Eibner 2000a). The horn blower marches in front and is usually armed with helmet, shield and lance. Only occasionally does he operate from horseback (e.g., Este-Baratella, Italy, Dämmer 2002). A rider, eight infantrymen and a mounted warrior follow a warrior blowing the horn into battle on the *situla* of Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63). In contrast to the marching warriors, these all carry two lances with the tips facing up. Similarly, a warrior with two raised lances follows a horn blower on the fragment from Bacchiglione, Italy (Fogolari and Prosdocimi 1988: fig. 234).

Despite the omnipresence of the warrior, very few scenes directly depict armed conflict. In one such scene on the belt plate of Vače, Slovenia (Fig. 7.26, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 55), two mounted warriors are facing each other. The left one, with wavy hair and body armour but without a helmet, is about to throw a lance at his opponent. His horse is noticeably taller than the other's and has a short or braided mane; it is branded with a swastika on the right croup. The right-hand warrior is wearing a brimmed helmet and body armour and is fighting with an axe; a lance has already struck his opponent's horse. His own horse is smaller, has a longer skull and a flowing mane. Both horsemen are flanked by almost identical warriors on foot, wearing crested helmets and body armour, and with oval shields and two lances each. The left one has an additional axe, which he raises against the scene. Primarily based on the slightly different horse types, which find their matches in the animal bone record, the left warrior has been interpreted as from

the east (Scythian), whereas that on the right was seen as the local (Illyrian, Powell 1971). An alternative reading takes the horse branded with a swastika as indicative of a local, Lower Carniolian warrior, and the right hand warrior as an Etruscan or Venetic immigrant (Turk 2005: 40). The fact is that they appear slightly different – and any difference in this part of the world tends to be interpreted as ethnic.

The lower frieze of the *situla* from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl.65), shows the end of a battle and the return after victory. In the first part of the scene, a warrior with crested helmet and two lances stabs a horn blower; a second warrior behind him faces the other way, holding lances in reserve. A chariot with a bald driver follows, perhaps the ‘battle taxi’. Separated by an ornament are two warriors with round shields; the first one still appears to be fighting, whereas the second one has already taken a captive, who follows in shackles. The third part of the scene displays one warrior with helmet and round shields and two captives, one in front and one behind. The captives seemed to have been stripped of their clothes, helmets and weapons, but two retained their shields, which are fixed to their shoulders. Taking captives might indeed have been an important part and perhaps also the purpose of armed conflict. Enslaved captives may have represented an important part of property. On the *situla* of Monebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), for example, a naked person is tied to a wagon with a seated driver and two passengers follow on foot. Much simpler depictions with similar image content were found on pottery vessels in Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Bella 1894: fig.11, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29).

At Sopron, other sites in its vicinity and farther north, there are numbers of pairs of people standing opposite each other in the manner of the dumb-bell fighters (see Chapter 7.10.3). It is, however, mostly unclear what exactly they are doing, and interpretations range from sport to dance and interpersonal conflict. In particular the men with swords from the *klinē* of Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a: 94b), suggest that interpersonal conflict was, at times, solved with swords.

The scene of beheading on the *situla* from Novo Mesto, Slovenia (Egg and Lehnert 2011), which features two warriors armed with axes over a lying man in shackles and an isolated, chopped-off head underneath a mounted warrior, is likely set in an act of warfare which goes beyond one-to-one conflict. Similarly, the four horsemen on the scabbard of Hallstatt, Austria (Barth and Urban 2007, Egg and Schönfelder 2009), let their horses walk over a dead body.

Unique and intriguing is the representation of a ship battle on the *situla* from Nesactium, Croatia (Fig. 7.46, Mihovilić 1992). The scene extends over the upper two friezes, with the ship on the right side. With its deep, spacious hull and rounded stern, it resembles Etruscan or Greek trading ships of the seventh or sixth centuries BC (Mihovilić 1992: 73–74). It is powered by oarsmen, whose heads are rendered as round circles on the deck above the hole for the oars; as the *situla* is quite fragmented, only nine oars are preserved. A person with pointed hat might be the steersman; all the others on board wear helmets. The scene is captured in the middle of the collision; a large number of arrows and lances fly through the air. Particularly dynamic is the depiction of a person falling overboard into the sea. The rest of the scene is not very well preserved, which makes it difficult to

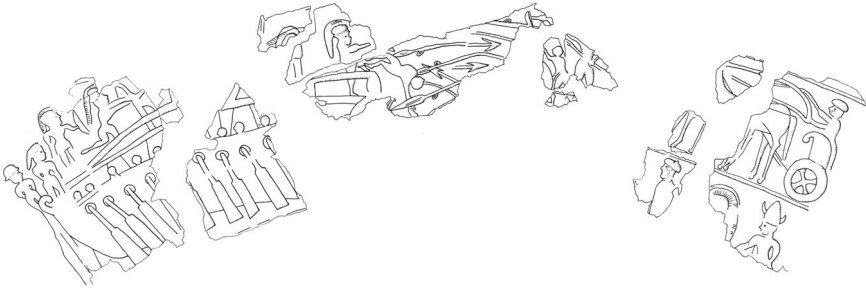


Figure 7.46 Ship battle on the *situla* from Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992: app. 2, © Arheološki muzej Istre, courtesy of Darko Komšo and Kristina Mihovilić)

ascertain if the opponents of the warriors on the ship fight from another ship or the shore. The chariot on the right side of the scene, driving left, may suggest the latter option. A likely explanation (Mihovilić 1992: 75) is that the ship battle scene remembers the heroic deed of a member of the elite. The control of trade around Nesactium may well have been an important source of income for the community and most likely included piracy and attacks on trade ships sailing by.

Perhaps the rather mysterious shipwreck scene on the cist of Kleinklein, Austria (Prüssing 1991: pl. 109, Schmid 1933: pl. 1b), in which people are swallowed by giant fish, is a local rendering of the same image content. In the landlocked, Alpine area the scene comes as a surprise; that young elite men from Kleinklein participated in raids and piracy in far-away lands, however, does not.

Notes

- 1 www.gutenberg.org/files/6762/6762-h/6762-h.htm, accessed 17 December 2014.
- 2 www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2013.01.0003%3Abook%3D13%3Achapter%3D79, accessed 17 December 2014.

8 Motif networks

Human representations of the early Iron Age take one of two forms. They are either quite idiosyncratic, locally specific in technology and style, or bound into a motif network that extends beyond the Hallstatt area and encompasses wider worldviews of the early Iron Age. Sites in which objects with human images have been found denote, for the most part, merely the location of their consumption; although some seem locally produced, many objects may have been produced quite some distance from where they were used, sacrificed or buried as grave goods. The fact that human images have been selected, accepted and modified where necessary, however, makes them part of the Hallstatt body world and, in turn, contribute to shaping it.

The site-specific, local ways of making bodies can best be understood in terms of communities of practice, in which both social and technological knowledge are learned and transmitted (Kohring 2012, Wenger 1998). People learn primarily through engaging in everyday practices within their communities, which provide a scaffolding of aesthetics and meanings. Within this framework, people produce material objects and reproduce techniques and styles characteristic of their communities. The transmission of knowledge across generations, through embodied learning, forms local traditions. The community of practice is a wider social unit than the household, in which people live and work together; it is a group that interacts daily and shares material culture and ways of doing things. Variations of material culture within the community of practice can best be explained by individual choices within the aesthetic and technological framework provided by the community.

Human representations made within the community of practice are often made of easily available materials and with technologies that require little specialist skill. They reflect and reinforce local ideas about the body, gender and identity, but also have to be understood in terms of the context for which they are made. The lead figurines and pottery appliques from Frög, Austria, for example (Plate 15, Gleirscher 2011, Tomedi 2002), are specific to a centre of local importance in Carinthia. The choice of lead as material is unique and perhaps reflects the economic basis of the community. The human representations – predominantly riders on horseback, but also some male and female figures – are cast in easily reproducible ways and used for funerary purposes. The assemblage of ceramic figurines from

Turska kosa, Croatia (Balen-Letunić, Bader and Stork 2008, Čučković 2008a), to name another example, is unique in stylistic details of rendering heads, body proportions and jewellery. The dominance of sexless and female figurines underlines the importance of the sanctuary they were found in, which was specifically for women. The community-specific practices and aesthetics that we see in such sites form part of local traditions that may extend over centuries, as they are transmitted from generation to generation. This is why specific objects, particularly from sanctuaries that were in use for a long time, are difficult to date.

Relationships beyond the community level link people together in the wider social network. The human representations from the sanctuaries of Este, Italy (Ruta Serafini 2002), take a somewhat intermediate position between the local and wider networks. On the one hand, they benefit from Este being a major production centre for sheet bronze work at the time, and thus participate in the available technological knowledge and aesthetic network of the Hallstatt world. On the other hand, many of the human representations do not appear to be the height of craftsmanship and seem *ad hoc* and casually made. Their production for dedication in specific sanctuaries is further underlined by the fact that selected human representations, for instance, warriors or women, are found in specific contexts.

A large number of human representations can best be understood in terms of a supra-regional network of motifs that connects the Hallstatt world (Fig. 8.1). This network is apparent as an elite network. It displays scenes of life, death and the mythology of the upper sections of society, and it displays a predominantly male world. Complex motifs are primarily worked in sheet bronze, in point-boss technique or repoussé and chasing, which exhibit the skills of an experienced bronze smith. Acquiring objects with such human representations requires a certain level of wealth and/or power, as they are either bought or gifted, or perhaps even raided. Craftspeople who made objects with complex motifs most likely worked on commission and for more than one patron, travelling between the seats of the elite. Alternatively, as valued dependants, they might have been borrowed or sold among the elite. Either way, both traders and craftspeople contributed to knitting a tight web of connections within the Hallstatt world.

Characteristic for the Hallstatt motif network is its close relation to Mediterranean, and notably Etruscan, motifs (cf. Koch 2003). From the body of available motifs some are selected, transmitted, transformed and adjusted to the local environment. This encompasses both adjustments to local technological styles and to local social practices, including the incorporation of local dress, hairstyle and associated material culture. Direct 'imports', for example, pottery manufactured in Greece or southern Italy at the Heuneburg, Germany (Kimmig 2000), play their part in shaping the aesthetic and bodily ideals in the area of consumption.

A number of network phenomena can be observed by looking at early Iron Age human images as a network. The web of connections woven by images can best be understood as a decentralised network, with several highly connected nodes with several ties in northern Italy and Slovenia. These better-connected areas participate in a network of high density and redundancy. A number of sites with human images are situated along obvious pathways through the Alps. Other areas farther

afield are connected by a small number of far-reaching ties, which, linking into their own communities of practice, make up a small world network.

Every new find puts another node in the network. The discovery of the *situla* in Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), for instance, is the first that shows women spinning; it narrows the wide gap on the map between similar motifs on the throne of Verucchio, Italy (Gentili 2003: fig. 59), the *tintinnabolo* from Bologna, Italy (Plate 4, Morigi Govi 1971), and the pottery vessel from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Plate 5, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 17). The connection between Montebelluna and Sopron is further underlined by another motif that is both rare and present at both sites: the motif of the captive walking behind a wagon (Fig. 7.29), found on another vessel in Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Tumulus 28, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29). The fact that these motifs were in fact found in two different burial mounds speaks for strong ties in networks continuously enacted over time.

In such cases, it is possible to trace very clear, direct relations between early Iron Age motifs in the Hallstatt area and their models. Other examples include the man-eating fish at Kleinklein, Austria (Egg 2013: 468, Reichenberger 1985b), which appear on an Ischian Late Geometric kratēr from Pithekoussai, Italy (Boardman 1998: 53, fig. 161), capturing a shipwreck scene. The ship-battle scene on the *situla* of Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992), has a parallel in the hydria of the Micali painter, who worked in Vulci at the end of the sixth century BC (Koch 2002); similar scenes are also known from Greece, for instance, painted on a ceramic vessel from Kynos, Greece (Dakorōnia et al. 2013: 98, fig. 4). The hare hunt, as apparent on the *situla* of Welzelach, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: 76), and the belt of Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Slovenia (Križ 1997b: app. 4), similarly goes back to Etruscan models (Koch 2002: 70).

The motif of the chariot race is another very good example of image transmission, which appears on the *situla* of Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63), the cist from San Maurizio, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 66), a fragment from the sanctuary Pillerhöhe, Austria (Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 1998: Fig. 18.2), and the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75). The rendering of a chariot driver from Rabensburg, Austria (Felgenhauer 1962: 94), in pottery is a local version of the same motif. The motif of killing a stag with an axe from behind appears on the Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a), the figurine sets of Gemeinlebarn and Langenlebarn, Austria (Kromer 1958, Preinfalk 2003), and in sheet bronze at Sesto Calende, Appiano and Sanzeno, Italy (Huth 2003: pl. 52, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62, 67). Both the chariot race and the stag-killing networks extend across the eastern Alps and although none of the sites shares the same motif, they appear similar when mapped.

Amongst the most intriguing motifs are the sex scenes, which underline the importance of marriage, legitimacy and family networks. The marriage network, with the sites of Pieve d'Alpago, Montebelluna, Sanzeno and Castelve-tro (Bianchin Citton in prep, Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 6, Gangemi 2013: Fig. 6.9, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 21, 67) in Italy on the one hand, and Brezje and Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Slovenia (Križ 1997b: app. 4, Turk 2005:

56, fig. 83) as well as Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1996: pl. 11, fig. 6) on the other, indicates the two core areas of Situla Art; the motif is not found outside this area.

Innovation dynamics within a network can explain why some motifs spread widely, whereas others did not. The motif of the aulos player, for instance, present in the form of a figurine from Százhalombatta, Hungary (Plate 6, Eibner 1999: 39), as well as on point-and-boss decorated sheet bronze vessels from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Plate 7, Prüssing 1991: pl. 120–121, 131), and Býčí skála, Czech Republic (Eibner 1999: 47), remains exotic. The aulos player, too, can be derived from the Mediterranean world, but the motif is closer to Greece than Etruria and never becomes a classic *situla* motif worked in repoussé and chasing. It spreads early, but not in numbers necessary to spread more widely; it also spreads in an area in which the network of connections is not as dense and therefore remains at the eastern fringes of the Hallstatt world.

The motif of the lyre player seems to have spread more than once. Images on pottery from Bavaria and the northeastern Hallstatt area date early in the Hallstatt period. As Alfred Reichenberger has noted, stylistic details such as the symmetry of the lyre and the standing position of the player point to a direct origin in geometric Greece (Reichenberger 1985a). The lyre players on *situlae*, on the other

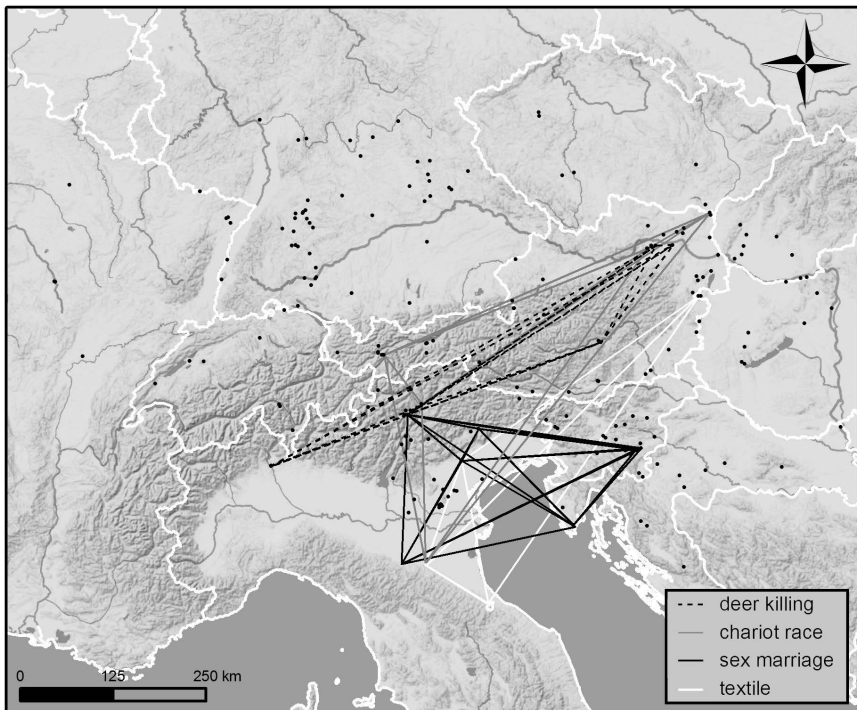


Figure 8.1 Motif networks

hand, play asymmetrical instruments in the sitting position; the images date to the later phase of the Hallstatt period.

The lyre player is also a good example of the ‘Chinese whispers’ phenomenon: the transmission of a message via many nodes may distort it to the point that it becomes difficult or impossible to read for people outside the specific cultural context. For the transformation of a motif, this frequently means that the formal frame remains in use, but the image loses its readability due to a change in image details. It becomes unclear exactly which object the lyre players are handling. Similarly, the motif of the dumb-bell fighter changes and takes on different meanings as it is worked in different materials in areas outside the main concentrations of Situla Art (see Section 6.6).

The depiction of feasting is spread more widely. Sites in northern Italy such as Cerci, Este-Benvenuti, Mechel, Montebelluna and Sanzeno (Bianchin Citton in prep, Lucke and Frey 1962: 28, 60, 65, 67) and sites in Croatia and Slovenia such as Nesactium, Dolenjske Toplice, Magdalenska gora and Vače (Egg and Eibner 2005, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 60, 73, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 5) connect to sites farther north, namely Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Welzelach and Kuffern in Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75, 76, Moser 2010). The network extends into the rest of the Hallstatt world, but the motif of feasting is not subject to art; it is staged and enacted in the funerary sphere (cf. Huth 2010).

Human images in early Iron Age central Europe are thus just the tip of the iceberg, testimonies to worldviews and body worlds that share some traits with the wider Mediterranean world, but also exhibit their own idiosyncrasies. Images were taken from the Mediterranean world, transmitted and modified. I agree with Leonie Koch that they have to be analysed as a whole, including origin and development, but I disagree with the notion that therefore they are no means to assess Iron Age life ways (Koch 2002: 74). On the contrary, because they were selected, integrated and, at times, adjusted to local understandings, they are a valuable source to access Hallstatt body worlds.

9 Conclusion

Burial practices and human representations are the building blocks of the body worlds of early Iron Age central Europe. Long-term trends in treating the body after death include a change from cremation to inhumation during the Hallstatt period; some areas use both inhumation and cremation side by side, whereas others persistently keep cremating their dead. A move away from single burials to grave sites for more persons is but one symptom of an increased emphasis on family ties and genealogy. Objects in graves include dress elements and grave gifts, as well as grave furnishings; the selection and size of the assemblage is thought to comment on the social status of the deceased. Some of the dead were buried within settlement contexts, but the majority were buried in dedicated places. Located near settlements and along pathways, burial mounds form impressive landscapes of the dead that were experienced through travelling.

Funerals and burials, particularly of important people, paint an image of the deceased that is largely congruent with what we find in contemporaneous human representations. Both the grave architecture and the plentiful, expensive and exotic grave goods play a part in staging the body of the deceased in a perfect, idealised way, demonstrating status and prestige and reminiscent of heroes and divine beings. Graves like Hochdorf, Germany, or Vix, France, demonstrate the utmost effort and expense afforded to few. Even large central settlements had no more than a few thousand inhabitants, and everyday life remained based in small communities, while at the same time a supra-regional elite network emerged. But at least some motifs of the bodily understandings of the elite of whatever nature trickle down and are also traceable in the simpler graves of the common population – the idea of feasting, for example, which is apparent in pottery sets for eating and drinking in the afterlife.

The wide variety of materials and technologies in which human bodies are represented masks general stylistic characteristics and directly affects the shape of the human bodies. The mode of depiction is heavily influenced by the material in which it is made; materials used include stone, ceramics, bronze, lead and, more rarely, antler, bone, ivory, amber and wood. Bronze in particular is worked in a range of techniques, from casting figurines to decorating sheet bronze in point-boss technique or repoussé and chasing, to cutting figures from old sheet bronze objects. Translating a motif from one material or technology to another reveals

the essence of the image, referencing crucial points to understanding the image content.

The ideal Hallstatt body is that of averageness and normality, with little reference to beauty or physiognomic difference. The shape and outline of the human body are emphasised over details of the face or facial expressions, which appear static, lifeless and void of emotion. Depictions of body parts and hybrids challenge the idea of the human body as a discrete entity. The profane and ritual were deeply intertwined in early Iron Age central Europe; everyday practices were infused with references to beliefs, worldviews and myths. Religious rituals such as libations and material sacrifices were commonplace, and although some of the Bronze Age numinous symbols such as the sun and the bird remain part of the iconography, gods and goddesses acquire distinct anthropomorphic traits. Merged humans and animals take up a divine nature in the Hallstatt world.

Sex and gender are among the most fundamental social categories of personal identity in the central European early Iron Age. Whereas we encounter a binary understanding of gender in graves, the human representations of the Hallstatt world also differentiate between sexed and sexless bodies – bodies for which reproduction was a key issue and bodies for which it was not. Nudity is common in human representations, associated with sex, sport and enslavement in war (for men only) and with ritual for both women and men. Dress and headgear, however, are important clues to people's identities, and objects depicted with the human body denote their actions. Postures and gestures of human representations refer to movements and practices.

Male body representations outnumber female ones at about 3:1. There is no question that early Iron Age central Europe was male dominated and masculinity set the standard. Masculinity had two faces: that of the civilian and that of the warrior. The ideal male body was groomed and trained through participation in hunting, warfare and sportive events. The well-dressed male had a wide variety of headdresses available for a variety of occasions. Helmets were items of prestige and cherished prizes in sports competitions. Elite men's pursuits included herding, hunting, fishing and ploughing, with the latter in some contexts having ritual significance. Feasting is central to many depictions in early Iron Age art. Despite the presence of some women, the activities men are engaged in are much more plentiful, comprising drinking and libation; sports such as horse racing, chariot racing and dumb-bell fighting; making music; and sex.

The ideal female body is the image of modesty, chastity and reproduction. Other than in archaic and classic Greece or Etruria, where depictions of explicit sexuality are largely restricted to prostitution, they have a different meaning in early Iron Age central Europe. Depictions of weddings and the public consumption of marriage, openly witnessed, point to a concern with legitimacy, hereditary and transmission of power through the generations. The transition to motherhood was clearly the most important event in women's lives; women who died during the age of reproductive potential were also most recognised in the funerary sphere. Women did at times participate in feasting, unlike in Greece, but similar to

Etruria, although often only in serving roles. Other occupations include domestic tasks, for instance, textile work, which was highly elaborate and valued.

The ideal Hallstatt body is depicted in its prime of life; neither childhood nor old age features large in human imagery. The participation of children in adult's work and life was likely not further noteworthy. Status differences are played out most in the funerary domain. Complex art that features people gives a glimpse into elite lifestyles without further commenting on social difference; only depictions of conflict differentiate between winners and losers, who seemed to have been captured, enslaved and at times executed. The early Iron Age repertoire of human representation in materials other than the prestigious sheet bronze works includes images of people from and of all walks of life.

Early Iron Age body worlds in central Europe share many traits with the wider Mediterranean world: the elite, at least, was bound into a network of social and economic relationships. This network included the transmission of prestigious objects with motifs featuring the human body, which were accepted into the Hallstatt world. Motifs spread and were at times adjusted to local cultural expectations. Human images from the Mediterranean shaped the body worlds of the Hallstatt people, but they also developed their own characteristics.

10 List of sites included in the analysis

Austria

Aldrans (Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004), Ampass-Deimfeld (Tomedi 2009), Bernhardsthal (Nebhay 1987), Bludenz (Höck 1997), Braunsberg (Urban 1995), Donnerskirchen (Rebay 2005, Warneke 1999), Dürrenberg-Eisfeld (Moser 2010), Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl (Zeller 2004), Eisenstadt-Burgstall (Langenecker 1994, Reichenberger 2000), Ernstbrunn (Dobiat 1982), Fließ (Sydow 1995), Franzhausen (Neugebauer and Gattringer 1988), Frög (Gleirscher 2009, Tomedi 2002), Führholz (Wedenig 1990), Gemeinlebarn (Kromer 1958, Szombathy 1929), Großmugl (Kromer 1986), Großweikersdorf (Tripp 1941), Gurina (Jablonka 2001), Hallstatt (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972, Kromer 1959b), Hellbrunnerberg (Stöllner 1996), Imst-Parzinspitze (Höck 1997), Jois (Pescheck 1942), Kleinklein (Dobiat 1980, Prüssing 1991, Schmid 1933), Krennach (Dobiat 1982), Kuffern (Lucke and Frey 1962), Landeck (Höck 1997, Merhart 1932), Langenlebarn (Preinfalk 2003), Leibnitz (Szameit 1983), Loretto (Nebelsick 1994), Maierisch (Berg 1962), Mannersdorf (Kern 2009c), Marz (Heger 1903), Matrei (Lucke and Frey 1962), Möderndorf (Fuchs 2006), Pillerhöhe (Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 1998), Praunsberg (Lauermann 1990), Rabensburg (Felgenhauer 1962, Kerchler 1977), Reichersdorf (Neugebauer and Gattringer 1986), Schandorf (Kaus 1998), Stanz (Höck 1997), Statzendorf (Rebay 2006), Stettweg (Egg 1996a), Stettweg-Falkenberg (Teßmann 2007), Sunzing (Straub 1980), Vöcklabruck (Straub 1980), Volders (Lucke and Frey 1962), Waisenberg (Gleirscher 2009), Welzelach (Lucke and Frey 1962, Urban 2000)

Croatia

Batina (Teßmann 2007), Burzina glava (Balen-Letunić 2008), Gradina Sv. Andrej mali (Starè 1970), Kaptol (Potrebica 2013), Kiringrad (Balen-Letunić 2004), Kompolje (Balen-Letunić 2008, Teßmann 2007), Mikleuška (Balen-Letunić 2004), Nesactium (Fischer 1984, Lucke and Frey 1962, Marzatico 2009), Nesactium (Mihovilić 1992, Mihovilić 1995, Mihovilić 2001), Prozor (Balen-Letunić 2008, Teßmann 2007), Sisak (Balen-Letunić 2004), Treščerovac (Balen-Letunić 2004), Turska kosa (Čučković 2008b, Balen-Letunić 2004)

Czech Republic

Býčí skála (Parzinger, Nekvasil and Barth 1995, Eibner 1999), Hradiště (Straub 1980), Lednice (Forman, Forman and Poulik 1956), Němčic-Burkovák (Axamit 1930), Pavlikov-Brabečky (Reichenberger 2000), Rakovník (Reichenberger 2000)

Germany

Aichstetten (Zürn 1987), Beihingen am Neckar (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Beilngries-Im Ried West (Huth 2003), Birkach (Kimmig 1987), Böblingen-Brand (Huth 2003), Bullenheimer Berg (Huth 2003), Dietkirchen-Niederhofen (Torbrügge 1979), Dietldorf (Torbrügge 1979), Ditzingen-Hirschlanden (Zürn 1970), Dürn (Torbrügge 1979), Eberdingen-Hochdorf (Biel 1985a), Ebrach (Spindler 1983), Engstingen-Großengstingen (Zürn 1987), Esslingen (Zürn 1987), Freiberg am Neckar (Zürn 1987), Gomaringen-Stockach (Riek 1941), Grafenbühl (Zürn 1970), Grossaltdorf (Frey 2005), Heuneburg (Böhr and Shefton 2000, Hase 2000), Huglfing (Huth 2003), Hunderingen (Zürn 1970), Ihringen (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Ilsfeld (Echt 1999), Kaltbrunn (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Kappel am Rhein (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Kirchenreinbach (Torbrügge 1979), Klein-Aspergle (Schlette 1984), Ostrach-Habsthal (Zürn 1987), Pettenhofen (Torbrügge 1979), Pfaffenhof (Torbrügge 1968), Prächting (Reichenberger 2000), Rai-Breitenbach (Kimmig 1987b), Reinheim (Echt 1999), Rottenburg (Huth 2003), Rottendorf (Wamser 1980), Schippach (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972, Stroh 1979), Schirndorf (Stroh 1988, Stroh 1979, 1988, 2000a, 2000b), Sigmaringen-Laiz (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Speikern (Torbrügge 1968), Stammheim (Ströbel 1952), Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt (Frey 2005, Zürn 1987), Stuttgart-Uhlbach (Huth 2003), Tübingen-Kilchberg (Beck 1974), Uckersdorf (Huth 2003), Wallerstein-Ehringen (Dietrich 1994), Wiesbaden-Erbenheim (Amann-Ille and Ille 1994), Zwiefalten-Upflamör (Zürn 1987)

France

Maegstub (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Ohlungen (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Saint-Jean-sur-Tourbe (Joffroy 1979), Saône à Seurre (Chaume and Reinhard 2003), Vix (Chaume and Reinhard 2003, Rolley 2003), Vix-Mont Lassois (Rolley 2003), Weitbruch (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972)

Hungary

Keszthely-Apátdomb (Patek 1984), Keszthely-Dobogó (Patek 1984), Nyergesújfalu (Egg 1996a, Szabó 1982), Ószőny (Szabó 1982), Somló (Csalog 1943, Patek 1984), Sopron-Várhely (Bella 1894, Dobiat 1982, Eibner-Persy 1980, Gallus 1938, Patek 1982), Sopron-Váris (Bella and Müller 1891), Sümeg (Patek 1984), Süttő (Horváth 1969), Százhalombatta (Eibner 1999), Székesfehérvár (Patek 1984), Velem (Iaia 2005, Patek 1984), Zsámbék (Patek 1984)

Italy

Altino (Tirelli 2002), Appiano (Lucke and Frey 1962), Bacchiglione (Fogolari and Prosdocimi 1988), Belluno (Frey 1969), Bormio (Pauli 1973), Carceri (Lucke and Frey 1962), Castel Telve-Borgo Valsugana (Höck 1997), Castelletto Ticino (Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004), Cavèdine (Egg 1986a), Cles-Campi neri (Höck 1997, Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004), Este (Capuis and Serafini 1996, Frey 1969, Hoernes 1893, Kern and Guichard 2008), Este-Baratella (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi 2002, Chieco Bianchi 2002, Dämmer 2002, Eibner 2007, Frey 1969, Kromer 1962), Este-Benvenuti (Frey 1969, Huth 2003, Kromer 1962, Lucke and Frey 1962), Este-Boldù-Dolfin (Frey 1969), Este-Caldevigo (Eibner 2007, Höck 1997, Kromer 1962), Este-Capodaglio (Frey 1969), Este-Casa Alfonsi (Frey 1969), Este-Casa di Ricovero (Frey 1969), Este-Franchini (Frey 1969), Este-Nazari (Kromer 1962), Este-Pelà (Frey 1969), Este-Prosdocimi (Warneke 1999), Este-Randi (Warneke 1999), Este-Rebato (Frey 1969, Warneke 1999), Este-Santuario Occidentale (Baggio Bernardoni 2002), Este-Santuario Orientale (Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004, Salerno 2002, Zaghetto 2002b), Este-Santuario Settentrionale (Gambacurta and Zaghetto 2002), Este-Santuario Sud-occidentale (Gambacurta 2002), Este-Scolo di Lozzo (Aigner-Foresti 1980), Gazzo Veronese (Warneke 1999), Mals-Tartscher Bühel (Marzatico 2001), Mechel (Höck 1997, Kromer 1962, Lucke and Frey 1962, Marzatico 2001, Marzatico 2009), Meran-Hochbühel (Egg 1986, Höck 1997, Marzatico 2001, Merhart 1932), Misincinis di Paularo (Vitri, Corazza and Simeoni 2007), Monte Ozol (Marzatico 2001), Montebelluna (Bianchin in prep, Capuis and Serafini 1996, Kromer 1962, Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004), Montegrotto (Dämmer 1986), Oppeano (Pigorini 1878), Padova-Camin (Huth 2003), Padova-Via Tiepolo (Capuis and Serafini 1996), Pieve d'Alpago (Gangemi 2013), Pustertal (Merhart 1932), Rivoli Veronese (Iaia 2005), Rovereto (Lucke and Frey 1962), San Maurizio (Lucke and Frey 1962), Sanzeno (Egg 1986a, Lucke and Frey 1962, Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004), Sarnonico (Höck 1997), Sesto Calende (Ghislanzoni 1944, Huth 2003), Terlagio (Marzatico 2001), Villazzano (Marzatico 2001)

Slovakia

Biely Kostol (Urminský 2001), Janíky-Dolné Janíky (Studeníková 1995), Nitra (Kolník 1982), Nové Košariská (Pichlerová 1969), Reca (Dušek 1971), Smolenice-Molpír (Reichenberger 2000), Veľké Lovce (Kolník 1982)

Slovenia

Bitnje (Warneke 1999), Brezje (Kromer 1959b), Dolenjske Toplice (Egg and Eibner 2005, Gallus 1938, Warneke 1999), Dragatuš (Spitzer 1973), Griže-Šešče (Teržan 1990), Idrija pri Bači (Guštin 1991), Kobarid (Lucke and Frey 1962), Libna (Warneke 1999), Magdalenska gora (Hencken 1978, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004), Molnik (Puš 1991), Most na Soči (Starè 1970, Teržan, Lo

Schiavo and Trampuž-Orel 1984, Warneke 1999), Novo mesto-Kandija (Turk 2005), Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva (Križ 1997b), Rifnik (Teržan 1990), Šmarjeta (Dular 1991, Stare 1973), Stična (Grabrovec 2006, Turk 2005, Wells 1981), Ulaka (Starè 1970), Vače (Aigner-Foresti 1980, Egg 1980b, Lucke and Frey 1962, Mahr 1934, Starè 1970, Teržan 2007, Warneke 1999), Valična vas (Lucke and Frey 1962), Vinica (Mahr 1934), Vinkov vrh (Starè 1970), Zagorje (Lucke and Frey 1962)

Switzerland

Bofflens (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Dalpe-Vidresco (Warneke 1999), Giubiasco (Gleirscher 1991, Primas 1974), Grächwil (Lessing 1980), Hemishofen (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Ins (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Osco-Freggio (Warneke 1999), Unterlunkhofen (Schmid-Sikimić 1996)

Site unknown

Situla in Providence (Lucke and Frey 1962), from Germany (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), from Hungary (Mozsolics 1954, Patek 1984, Szabó 1982), from Italy (Bianco Peroni 1970, Egg and Pare 1995), other (Egg 1980a, Teßmann 2007)

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